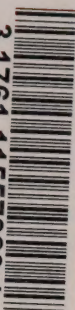


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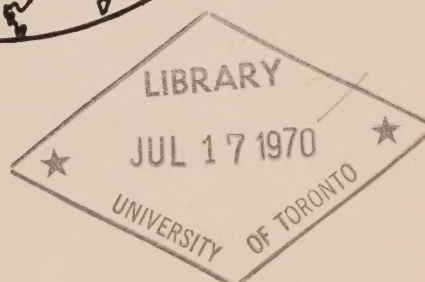
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NORTHERN BAFFIN ISLAND

an area economic survey



DON BISSETT

INDUSTRIAL DIVISION

NORTHERN ADMINISTRATION BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

NORTHERN BAFFIN ISLAND

an area economic survey

Volume 1

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A.E.S.R. 67 1



by

DON BISSETT

The views, conclusions and recommendations expressed herein are those of the contributors and not necessarily those of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Industrial Division,
Department of Indian
Affairs and Northern
Development.

Ottawa, Nov., 1968



PREFACE

This report is one of a series of Area Economic Surveys carried out by the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

These surveys are a continuing part of the Department's efforts to determine the basis for local economic and social progress in the Northwest Territories. Basically the surveys are intended to:

- 1) Assess the renewable resources as to their ability to sustain the local population.
- 2) Determine the degree of exploitation of these resources and the efficiency of their use.
- 3) Investigate and explain the social and economic factors affecting resource utilization.
- 4) Recommend ways and means whereby the standard of living of the local people might be improved.

As the reasons for these surveys are practical, the material presented in the reports is selected for its relevance in this respect; much academic material gathered in the course of the investigation which may have been taken into account in the deliberations is necessarily excluded from these reports. On the other hand, authors have been given wide latitude in their approach and have been encouraged to give consideration to key problems of a theoretical nature and to include such theoretical argument where its inclusion is thought to contribute to the understanding of the material presented and of the practical conclusions drawn.

The reports are published primarily for use within the Department, for distribution to other interested government agencies and for limited distribution to libraries, universities and organizations and individuals actively engaged in northern research, administration or development.

The following reports in this series have been published to date or are in preparation:

<u>A.E.S.R.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>
58/1	Ungava Bay	J.Evans
60/1	The Squatters of Whitehorse	J.Lotz
62/1	Southampton Island	D.Brack
62/2	Tuktoyaktuk-Cape Parry	G.Abrahamson
62/3	Western Ungava	R.Currie
63/1	The Copper Eskimos	G.Abrahamson
63/2	Keewatin Mainland	D.Brack and D.McIntosh
63/3	Yukon Territory Littoral	R.Currie
65/1	Banks Island	P.Usher
65/2	Northern Foxe Basin	G.Anders

A.E.S.R.TitleAuthor

66/1	The Mackenzie Delta	D.Bissett
66/2	Rae-Lac La Martre	G.Anders
66/3	Frobisher Bay	S.MacBain (Miss)
66/4	East Coast-Baffin Island	G.Anders, Ed.
67/1	Lancaster Sound	D.Bissett
67/2	South Coast - Baffin Island	G.Higgins
67/3	South Shore-Great Slave Lake	D.Radojicic
67/4	Central Mackenzie	D.Villiers (Miss)
68/1	Keewatin Re-Survey	D.Radojicic
68/2	Central Arctic	D.Villiers (Miss)
68/3	Lower Liard Region	G.Higgins

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the report for the sake of brevity:

- D.I.A.N.D. - Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
- R.C.M.P. - Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- D.O.T. - Department of Transport
- G.S.C. - Geological Survey of Canada
- N.H.S. - Northern Health Services
- H.B.Co. - Hudson's Bay Company

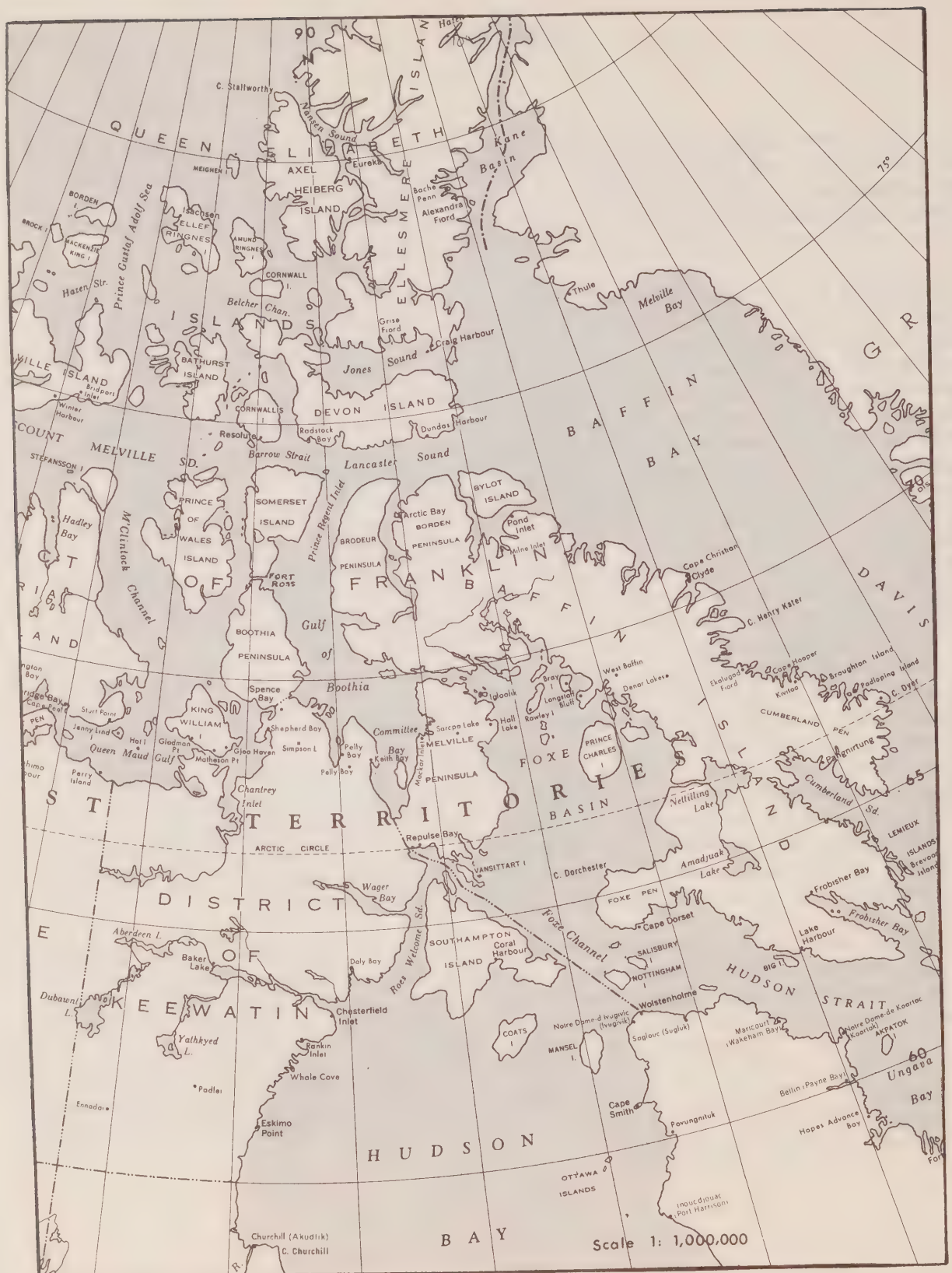
Introduction

This survey area of this report includes the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay and their respective resource areas. The resource areas are extensive covering the zone of Baffin Island north of Fury and Hecla Strait and Steensby Inlet and extending west from Button Point and the Buchan Gulf area to Prince Regent Inlet and Somerset Island.

Despite the large resource areas, the harvesting of resources by Eskimo groups is becoming more localized due to the increasing settlement orientation of the populations. A decline in camps has been precipitated by the development of settlement facilities, schools, nursing stations and finally low-cost rental housing. The basic subsistence stage of hunting and trapping is becoming less important in terms of local economies and the north Baffin Eskimos are dependent on more varied income sources to meet expanding requirements arising out of settlement living. The younger generation has a limited interest in hunting or trapping. This is particularly apparent in Pond Inlet which is somewhat more advanced than Arctic Bay. It is debatable whether arts and crafts programs or small cottage industries can solve the problem of Eskimo settlements in the high Arctic. As well, development of the mineral resources is predicated by current high costs arising out of distance to markets and the severity of the physical environment. The ultimate question facing agencies involved in northern development and, indeed, the Eskimos themselves, is the survival value of small high Arctic settlements with limited economic opportunities. Expanded educational opportunities will enable increased numbers of younger Eskimos to seek employment elsewhere, but education is no solution to the socio-economic problems arising out of residual populations. Unless major economic developments occur, such as mineral developments, the scale of subsidization will continue to increase. Subsidization of the initial costs of mineral production may be preferable to the subsidization of small projects and cottage industries which only partially meet the total income requirements and do not contribute to the national economy.

Due to the large area encompassed by the Lancaster Sound survey, a decision was reached in 1967 to divide the total area into pertinent areas capable of being assessed in the normal time limits prescribed for field work. One of these areas was the north Baffin area, including the settlements of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. The second area was Resolute Bay. Due to the mass of research data, it was decided to divide the northern Baffin Island report into two sections. The first section deals with physiography, historical aspects, the camps and the settlements. The second section deals with the subsistence sector of the local economies.

FIGURE 1 - General Location Map



Chapter I - The Physical Environment

Physiography

Bostock (1964) has delimited the major physiographic divisions of northern Baffin Island. The east coast consists of a broad mountainous zone extending to Bylot Island, a narrow zone of lowlands and hills front Baffin Bay while inland the mountain areas give way to plateau and hill country dissected by rivers. Penetration of the mountain country is possible through deep fiords. The interior zone between Eclipse Sound and Foxe Basin is indented by inlets and bays. Westward the plateau country gives way to plains while northwestward plateaus and uplands predominate on the Borden and Brodeur Peninsulas.

The Rand reports (1962) deal at length with physiographic divisions. In terms of human occupation, the physiography of inland areas, exerts some controls in terms of overland travel and caribou hunting. On the whole, the coastal regions are of much greater significance to subsistence economies based primarily on sea mammals.

Bylot Island

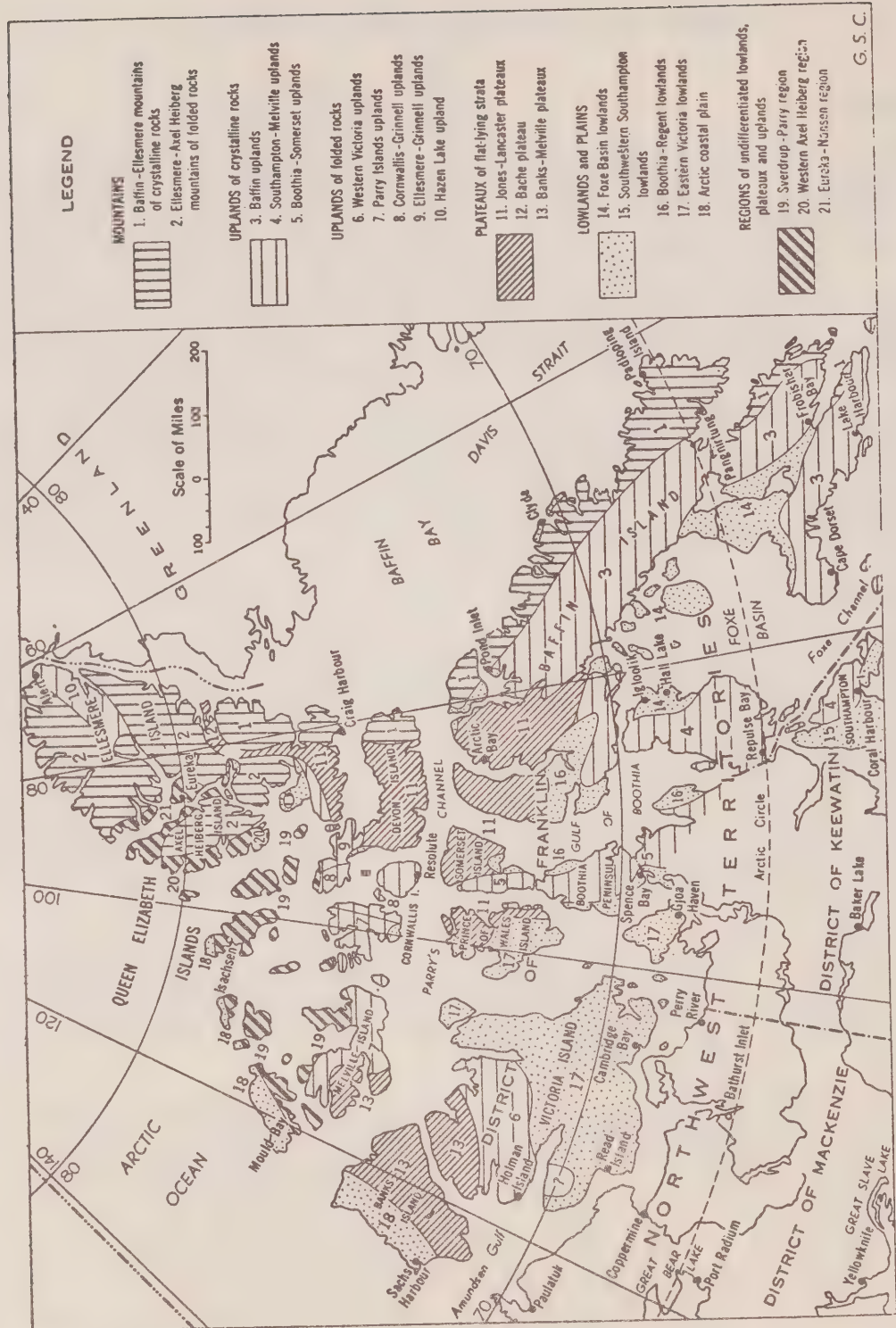
The central part of Bylot Island is a mountainous area of approximately 2,500 square miles obscured by snowfields and valley-glaciers from which nunataks of talus covered gneiss protrude with summit elevations of 5-6,000 feet. Drainage occurs in heavily crevassed valley-glaciers and the lower part of glacier tongues are channelled by meltwater streams. Morainal formations (lateral, medial and terminal moraines) are often in evidence. Glacial tongues reach the sea in the Pond Inlet area and in the Maud Bight, Cape Hay area. The axis of the mountainous area is oriented in a northwest-southwest direction and the majority of outlet glaciers flow northeastward or southwestward.

From Cape Liverpool to Button Point, a range of hills, the Burney Hills, are a continuation of the granite and gneiss of the Byam Martin mountains. The hills are dissected and stand out as blocks separated by broad valleys. Drift mantles the lower ground between the hills. Dissected meltwater streams have delta mouths entering Lancaster Sound.

The southwestern part of Bylot Island is a low plateau of drift and plains area, covered with sedimentary rock with some marshy areas. Sand and gravel terraces occur in the river valleys and raised beaches along the coast. This area is well vegetated with short grass tundra. On the north coast of Bylot Island, low terrain separates the mountains from the sea except between Cape Hay and Maud Bight. There the coast is steep with two glaciers extending to the waterline. Along the south coasts of Bylot Island between Sermilik glacier and Button Point the coasts are high and precipitous. Three glaciers come down to the coastline. From Cape Liverpool west to Navy Board Inlet on the northern coast, sedimentary terrain occurs as a narrow coastal strip. Formerly it supported numbers of caribou.

Coutts Highland

The Coutts Highland is characterized by bare rock surfaces, boulder mantled with ice covering the highest areas. Maximum elevations range from 3,000 feet to approximately 5,000 feet. Extensive valley-glacier systems have formed



Provisional physiographic divisions of the Arctic Archipelago.

from outlet glaciers, and generally reach sea level. Outlet glaciers which have not reached the sea have in some places coalesced to form piedmont glaciers. The western plateau section is dissected by glaciated valleys floored with drift or alluvium. Fault-line valleys or troughs occur in the eastern part of Coutts Highland. In the highlands fractured rock surface and talus slopes are evident in many areas. Crystalline rocks weather slowly and in the more dissected parts of the eastern uplands, rock outcrops commonly occur.

Buchan Highland

The area between Dexterity Fiord and Turnbiter Fiord consists of irregular low-opped peninsulas and islands with steep almost vertical cliffs. Summit elevations range between 3,700 feet and 3,800 feet.

South of the eastern part of Bylot Island and Pond Inlet, the Pond Highland . occurs with a maximum elevation in excess of 5,000 feet. It is a massive plateau of gneiss and metamorphosed sediments. The area is covered by extensive snowfields. In terms of human occupation, it is generally lacking in resources and is a barrier to overland travel.

On the west of Oliver Sound, a lower plateau surface occurs at about 2,000 feet; this is the Patricia Plateau which is bordered on the northwest by the Salmon lowland, a zone of sedimentary rock.

Patricia Plateau

Drift obscures the gneissic bedrock in the high eastern part of the Plateau, while to the west sedimentary rocks occur. Bedrock outcrops are more common where the slope steepens towards the coast. The outer coast is low and rugged, generally without cliffs. Low rocky peninsulas alternate with shallow bays on Eclipse Sound. Marine terraces with gravel occur and the rivers have deltaic mouths. The slope to Oliver Sound is more abrupt.

Emmerson and Curry Islands are extensions of the Patricia Plateau in the southern part of Eclipse Sound.

Macculloch Lowland

The Macculloch Lowland occurs between the eastern border of the Pond Highland and Baffin Bay. It is broken by a ridge of hills extending from Erik Harbour terminating at Cape Macculloch. Projecting rock knobs rise above the general lowland surface which is pitted with kettle-hole lakes and cut by meandering streams with braided courses. Highland areas continue southward in the Coutts Inlet area and Buchan Gulf.

Paquet Upland

The Paquet Upland is situated between the Pond Highland area and the Howley Drift Plateau. The Paquet Upland (approximately 400 square miles) extends from the head of Paquet Bay eastward to the head of the north arm of Coutts Inlet. The Upland is underlain by gneiss and metamorphosed sediments with west-northeast, east-southeast trend. A valley, which is broad and structurally controlled separates the Uplands. The land rises to the south

to the Buchan Uplands with the slope being cut by deep glaciated valleys floored with alluvium and some lakes.

The bedrock of the valley mentioned in the above paragraph is almost completely masked with superficial deposits, terminal and ground moraines, dissected outwash fans and lacustrine or marine beach deposits.

From Paquet Bay, travel inland may be accomplished along a terrace face along the valley side. This provides access for caribou hunters inland in this area.

Rowley Drift Plateau

Rowley Drift Plateau occupies the central part of Baffin Island northwest of the Barnes Plateau. On the east it is superseded by the eastern highlands. On the northwest, the Rowley Drift Plateau is bordered by the Paquet Upland. The drainage is largely controlled by linears in the archaean crystalline rock. In the northern part, the dominant trend is southeasterly or north-westerly. Streams drain through the down-faulted area of the Inutorfik hills.

Summit elevations are close to 2,000 feet. The surface ranges from gently rolling with a local relief of about 200 feet to maturely dissected, with a local relief of 600 feet. The drift-cover throughout the region is variable ranging from sandy drift in the northwest almost obscuring the bedrock to scanty drift-cover in the southwest and finer till in the east.

The floors of the valleys provide good route ways. An old Eskimo sled route lies between Cambridge Fiord and the Rowley River and southwest to Steensby Fiord linking former campsites in Isortoq Fiord in the northeastern part of the Foxe Basin to Anowling in Cambridge Fiord.

The Inutorfik Hills

The east Inutorfik Hills consists of an area of 250 square miles, heavily drifted and broken by numerous granite knobs, with local relief ranging from 200 feet to summit elevations of 300 feet. The eastern Inutorfik Hills form part of the summer hunting ground for caribou.

The west Inutorfik Hills, which cover 900 square miles, have a granite base overlain by sedimentary rocks with flat summits at approximately 800 feet. There are a number of lakes.

Tay Sound

The Tay Sound zone lies north of the Inutorfik Hills and is bounded on the east by the Paquet Upland. It is an extension of sedimentary rocks from Tremblay Sound to east of the lower end of Paquet Bay. It is approximately 15 miles in width and is a continuation of the Dicksan Dikes region. The sedimentary rocks form broad ridges below 500 feet between the head of the fiord-like inlets of Paquet Bay, Tay Sound and Eskimo Inlet. Boulder drift covers the gentle hillsides. Dikes similar to those of the Dicksan Dikes region occur south and west of Tay Sound and are associated with strike faulting valleys which are fairly well vegetated. Safe anchorages on the outer coast are few. Tay Sound is known to contain reefs.

Steensby Hills

The Steensby Hills occur on Steensby Peninsula in the Moffet Inlet area, and are developed on banded and crystalline rocks from which sedimentary rocks have been removed except for two small areas in central Steensby Peninsula. Northeast of Moffet Inlet the hills are 500 feet, but in the southwest they rarely reach 300 feet. There is a discontinuous drift-cover throughout the region ranging from sparse on hills east of Moffet Inlet to very thick to the west of the southwestern part of Moffet Inlet.

Equalulik Hills

North of Moffet Inlet and east of Admiralty Inlet, there is a rugged area covering approximately 1,500 square miles. The Hills in general are tilted blocks with gentle south sides and steep northern faces. Rivers are deeply incised in the upland. Along the Admiralty Inlet coast, there is a narrow strip of raised beaches at the foot of the hills or cliffs.

The Kakitok Hills

The Kakitok Hills cover a 2,000-square-mile area east of Milne Inlet and Koluktoo Bay. On the north, they are bounded by the Tay Sound sedimentary zone. The average elevation of the hills is around 500 feet with a local relief of 100 feet to 150 feet. The hills are underlain by sedimentary rocks of which limestone is a significant component. The Phillips Creek Valley is a wide river valley with remnants of an esker. Lakes are numerous in the hill country and reflect quantities of drift in many of the proglacial valleys.

Krag and Uvajo Mountains

West of Koluktoo Bay, the Krag and Uvajo Mountains reach elevations of about 2,000 feet and are developed on archaean crystalline rocks. The upper zone is modified by erosion. The Robertson River Valley is a broad, structured lowland, two to three miles wide consisting of silts and clays from which rock outcrops protrude.

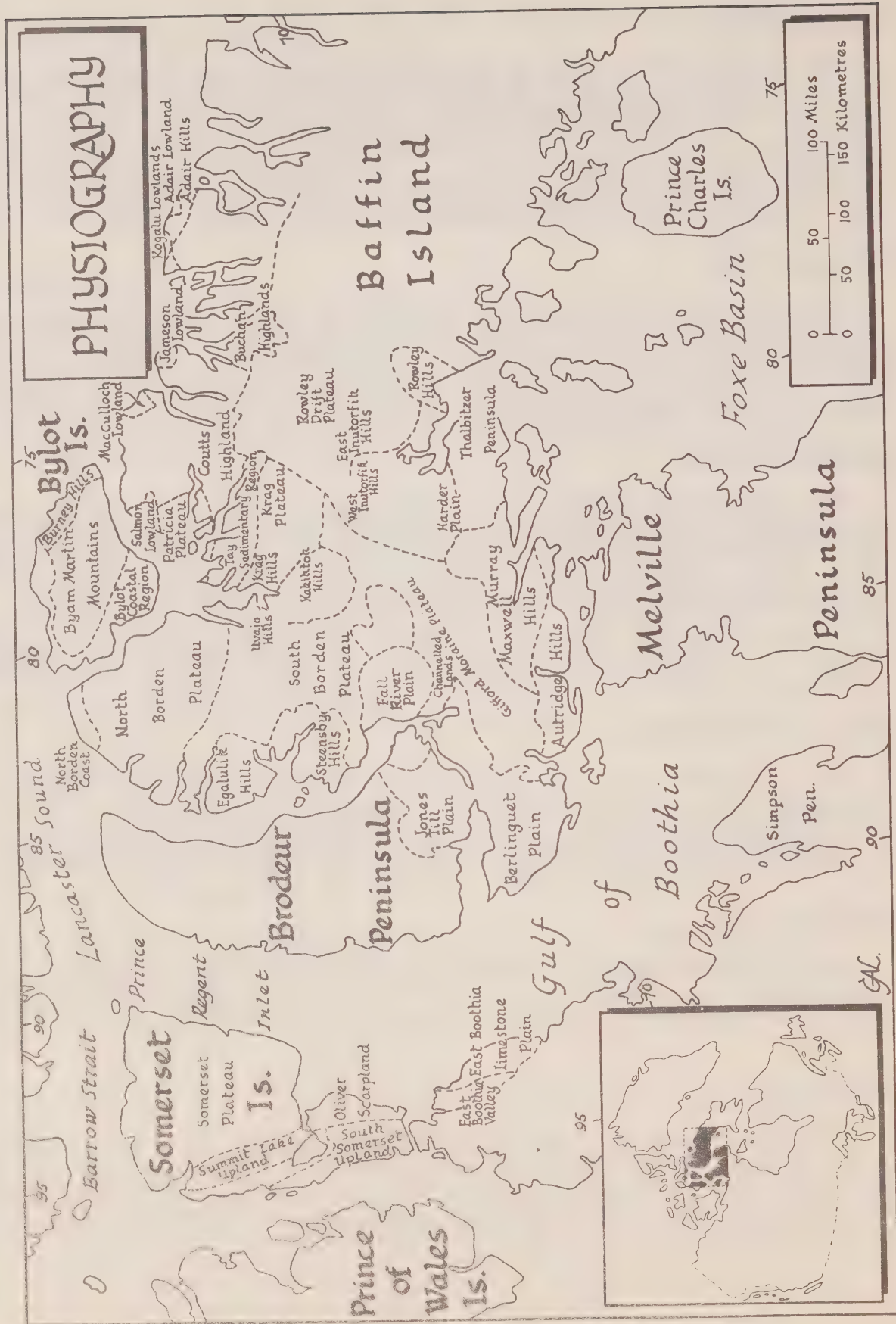
Fall River Plain

The Fall River Plain is a monotonous, flat terrain east of Bell Bay. The limestone has been removed by erosion. Away from the coast the land rises towards the southeast to the water divide of the central Gifford River at about 700 feet.

Buttes Region

The Buttes region is located northeast from the Fall River Plain and has as its northern boundary the southern edge of the South Borden Plateau. Distinct buttes rise approximately 200 feet above the general surface at 700 feet above sea level and are sharply delineated and separated by cross channels 100 feet deep.

FIGURE 3 - Physiography of Northern Baffin Island and Surrounding Areas (after Rand Reports)



Brodeur Peninsula

The northern part of Brodeur Peninsula is a very smooth topped plateau of flat bedded rocks, approximately 1,800 feet high. The coastal areas have sheer cliffs. Deeply entrenched rivers cut the plateau surface. Five small ice-caps exist in the northeast part of the Peninsula.

Farther south, the plateau gets gradually lower and the valleys are wider and less steep sided. The plateau merges with the lowland a few miles north of Bernier Bay.

The Peninsula is bordered on the south by Berlinguet Inlet and Bernier Bay. Berlinguet Inlet is separated from Bernier Bay by lowland a few feet above sea level.

South of Bernier Bay and Berlinguet Inlet there is a broad zone of extremely low-lying land extending as far south as Kimakto Peninsula and Crown Prince Frederick Island. The area, which is known as Berlinguet plain is underlain by limestone partially covered by thin silts. Shingle beaches are found in many parts of the plain and small irregular lakes are present throughout the region. This zone was submerged in the recent past. The Berlinguet plain is bordered on the east by the Gifford Moraine Plateau.

Gifford Moraine Plateau

The Gifford Moraine Plateau, a drift-covered upland area, extending eastward from Agu Bay for 150 miles, varying in width from 50 to 12 miles and north-south basis with mean elevations of 200 to 900 feet. The granite bedrock is covered by surficial deposits, thin boulders and there are a few lakes.

Borden Peninsula

A narrow zone of lowland occurs on Borden Peninsula along the northern coast. This zone is underlain by sandstone and limestone and the bedrock is generally buried beneath rubble and felsenmeer appearing only in gorges and on steeper hill slopes. A narrow strip of beaches along the coast merge into discontinuous bluffs and degraded cliffs rising to about 300 feet. Beyond this an undulating surface, broken by valleys, extends south to a steep rise marking the beginning of the North Borden Plateau. Rivers flowing north from the plateau area cut through the coasted bluffs and lakes. There are no lakes.

The north Borden Plateau consists of broad plateau or hill surfaces dissected by valley systems. There are six major icefields, the largest covering 95 square miles east of the inner part of Elwin Inlet. Two of the main icefields in the east bury the major part of the archaean rock area extending west from Low Point.

An east-west valley system between Strathcona Sound and Navy Board Inlet forms a corridor in the plateau area.

FIGURE 4 - General Geology of Northern Baffin Island and Surrounding Regions



The Uluksan Dikes region is a 10-20 mile wide belt extending 115 miles on a northwest-southeast trend from Strathcona and Adams Sound to Milne Inlet. There is a varied terrain of isolated plateaus, moderately high hills and broad, but deep valleys. The main characteristic of the region is a series of gabbro dikes striking northwest in the sedimentary rocks.

The southern part of the Borden Plateau has an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Along the northern margin of the plateau bordering on the Uluksan Dikes zone, the plateau is broken into independent blocks. The streams in the center of the plateau area are in deep but smooth-sided valleys. Along the perimeter of the plateau, these become progressively deeper and form steep-walled gorges over 500 feet deep.

Krag Plateau

The Krag Plateau is an upland area forming broad, gently rolling inter-fluves between deeply entrenched valleys. It covers an area of approximately 650 square miles.

In the north, an area of archaean crystalline rocks is divided into blocks by mature valleys with gentle sloping sides and broad drift-covered floors. The valley dissecting the main part of the plateau are vertical wall troughs. These are essentially river gorges but slightly modified and short gullies lead back from the valleys on the plateau which has an approximate elevation of 2,000 feet.

Glaciation

Existing evidence points to local glaciation on Borden and Brodeur Peninsula. Relic or local glaciers now existent on Bylot Island and east of Pond Inlet in the eastern mountain ranges cover large areas. The existing glaciated areas between Pond and Buchan Gulf cover 2,185 square miles while those on Bylot cover an area of 1,890 square miles.

Elsewhere evidences supporting glaciation are widespread. These consist of surface deposits, a wide assortment of tills, moraines and the remnants of eskers and outwash plains.

Geology

The Baffin-Ellesmere belt is the largest and most easterly of the Precambrian areas of the Arctic Archipelago. It occupies a major part of north Baffin Island and Bylot Island, extending north to the eastern part of Devon Island and eastern Ellesmere. Archaean gneisses and granitic rocks are the major components of the Baffin-Ellesmere belt. The gneissic structures are complex. Proterozoic strata occur in northern Baffin Island, being gently flexed along northwesterly to a northerly trending axis.

Rocks which may be Cambrian or Lower Ordovician in age are divided into the Gallery and Turner Cliffs formation in the upper part of Admiralty Inlet. The Gallery formation varies in thickness according to undulations on the underlying surface of erosion, and consists of a maximum of 600 feet of cross-bedded sandstone resting with slight angular unconformity on the Proterozoic Elwin formation and on dikes of the Drabase series. The Gallery formation

is overlain by the Turner formation of about 300 feet of sandstone silt, shale and mudstone containing non-diagnostic fossils. These rocks are regarded as Cambrian or Ordovician.

The Jones-Lancaster Plateau lies west of the Baffin uplands. On Borden Peninsula many surfaces are above 2,000 feet and in part rise above 2,000 feet while the Plateau surfaces have maximum elevations of 1,800 feet on Brodeur Peninsula. The plateaux are underlain chiefly by flat-lying Paleozoic strata.

The lowlands and plains occupying the area between the lower part of Admiralty Inlet and Steensby Inlet are underlain by flat-lying areas of what is considered Palaeozoic limestone.

FIGURE 5 - Geological Regions and Subdivisions of the Arctic Archipelago



Geological regions and subdivisions of the Arctic Archipelago.

Sulphides and Associated Metals

Disseminated or slightly concentrated chalco-pyrite, pyrrhotite and magnetite occur in association with gabbro dikes crossing Proterozoic formations of the Admiralty Inlet district on northern Baffin Island. Spectrographic analysis of a specimen from such an occurrence showed faint traces of nickel and cobalt. In the same district a replacement zone of pyrite has a maximum width of 500 feet and is exposed for at least 2 miles. The zone contains minor amounts of galena and sphalerite and spectrographic analysis of a specimen showed faint traces of silver and copper. Explorers have collected, in the district, specimens of pyrite containing platinum, and of calcite with breithauptite (nickel antimonide) and native silver.

They also found native silver in float.¹

Climate

The area of study falls within the general ET tundra climatic classification of Köppen bounded by the warmest month isotherm of 500 degrees on the south and 32 degrees on the north. Long cold winters and very short, cool summers are characteristics of the tundra climate. Within the zone of study, there are extensive ice-covered areas particularly in the mountainous areas of east Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere Islands. Northward the area of study is bounded by the EF ice-cap climate, while southward an extended zone of tundra climate separates it from the sub-Arctic climatic regimes. Maritime influences have a strong effect on the climate.

Temperatures

Low mean annual temperatures are the result of severe winters and cool summers. A wide variation in winter temperatures in the high eastern Arctic is largely caused by the intensity of cyclonic activity in the Davis Strait areas. The extreme western limit of this influence appears to be Cornwallis and Somerset Islands.

Summer temperatures exhibit a marked uniformity in contrast to the large degree of variation in winter temperatures. The highest and the lowest July mean temperatures for Arctic Bay are 47 degrees and 39 degrees and for Pond Inlet 47 degrees and 38 degrees. The ice-filled waters of the high Arctic act as temperature stabilizers resulting in close uniformity across the Archipelago.

Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet do not receive the moderating maritime influence in winter experienced at Clyde River due to the eastern highlands. In January, a broad cold wedge extends from northern Ellesmere Island southward in a southwest direction to the barrenlands west of Hudson Bay.

Annual Temperature Range

Annual temperature range varies from 60 to 70 degrees in the vicinity of the 75 parallel and 70 to 80 degrees northward. While mean summer temperatures are not high, exceptionally low, mean winter temperature ranges are experienced.

Diurnal Temperature Variations

Regular diurnal variations in temperature do not exist in winter in the high Arctic when the sun is below the horizon. However, periodic diurnal variations in temperature in winter occur through radiational heating and cooling.

With the return of the sun, the amplitude of diurnal range increases to a maximum in April, then decreases with a secondary July maximum. A gradual decrease in diurnal temperature range occurs from August to a winter maximum.

¹Stockwell, C.H. Geology and Economic Minerals of Canada, 1963, p.439.

Temperature Extremes

Extreme winter temperatures are not usually as low and generally are not as high as they would be in a continental area in the same latitude. This is due to maritime influences. Extreme minimum temperature of -64 degrees have been experienced at Pond Inlet (30-year record) in February, while -61 degrees has been the lowest temperature recorded at Resolute Bay (for the period 1948-1960). At Arctic Bay, the lowest temperature recorded has been -57 degrees in February. Absolute maximum temperatures of 59 degrees at Resolute, 66 degrees at Eureka, 77 degrees at Pond Inlet and 75 degrees at Arctic Bay have been experienced at these localities.

Precipitation

There is a decrease in the total amount of snowfall on an east-west basis. Clyde River experiences 58 inches of snow in contrast to 31.6 inches at Pond Inlet, and 26.2 inches at Resolute. The maximum period of snowfall is September-October at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Intense cyclonic activity in the Davis Strait area may result in warm periods which break the severe winter cold. Snowfall is relatively light during the winter months with Resolute receiving less snow than Arctic Bay or Pond Inlet.

The mean annual amount of rainfall recorded for Clyde River is 2.34 inches; Pond Inlet 2.87 inches; Arctic Bay 2.08 inches and 2.45 inches for Resolute. June, July and August are the major rainfall months with maxima occurring in July at Arctic Bay, Pond Inlet in contrast to maxima in August for Resolute and Clyde River.

Cloud Cover

Cloud cover is smallest during the winter months in the high Arctic. The amount of cloud increases in the spring due to the increasing diurnal range of temperature. Over the Lancaster Sound and Baffin Bay, cloud cover reaches a maximum in July.

Fogs

Fogs show a slight maximum in April at Pond Inlet, while at Arctic Bay there is a distinct maximum in foggiess during August. Similar conditions to those at Arctic Bay apply also to Fort Ross and Resolute.

Visibility

In an area where hunting is a major subsistence activity, visibility is an important factor. Records for Pond Inlet (1940-1950), Arctic Bay (1938-1950), indicate that average visibility on a day-per-month basis is high with an over six-mile range in visibility for 18-29 days-per-month for Pond Inlet; Arctic Bay 26-30 days-per-month. Average visibility range is more variable at Resolute (19-27 days-per-month) than at Arctic Bay and more closely approximates that at Pond Inlet.

Snow

Early autumn and spring snowfalls resemble the light fluffy mid-latitude

variety. During the winter period, snow is fine and powdery in quality. The effect of turbulence and the erosive action of blowing snow at the land surface results in much of the snow accumulating in low-lying areas, in ravines and gullies and to the windward and leeward of obstacles such as hills and buildings. Caribou and muskoxen avoid areas of deep snow and are found on windswept areas where feed is available.

Wind Direction

Examples of the variance in wind direction are available for Arctic Bay and Resolute. Periods of calm are much less at Resolute than at Arctic Bay. This is primarily due to topographic controls at Arctic Bay which is sheltered on three sides by high hills. The most prevalent wind at both Arctic Bay and Resolute Bay is from the northwest.

Prevailing wind direction is an important factor in floe-edge and open-water hunting at Pond Inlet and Resolute Bay. In the Arctic Bay area, it is one of the factors accounting for the limited human occupation of the west side of Admiralty Inlet where good anchorage is lacking and prevailing winds are offshore. In the Pond Inlet and Resolute areas, hunters must exert considerable care in hunting any distance out in the open-water and from the floe-edge in exposed areas on the Baffin Island coast. In the Pond Inlet area, the two zones where care must be exercised are the floe-edge off Button Point and the head of Navy Board Inlet.

At Pond, infrequent strong west or northwest gales present difficulties for small board navigation during the open-water season. Coastal areas of Eclipse Sound are lacking in safe boat anchorages.

Summer

July is the warmest month. Wide summer ranges of temperature occur due to the wind blowing inward from the sea. Ice-filled polar waters with a surface temperature near 30 degrees F. prevent the air in contact with them from warming up to any great extent. Incursions of warm air from the south are rapidly cooled in the lower layers by contact with the cold air. In the latter part of July, ice conditions have deteriorated to a point where dogteam travel is impossible on the sea-ice and hunting is restricted to hunting shore leads. During June to August the weather is generally cyclonic but the cyclones are small and weak. Cloud cover reaches a maximum in July.

Current and wind direction are two of the major factors in limited occupation of north Baffin coastal areas facing Lancaster Sound and Baffin Bay. In a heavily indented coastline human settlement patterns have tended to be well inland along sheltered fiords and bays.

TABLE 1 - Climatic Data for Pond Inlet, N.W.T. (Lat. 72°43' N Long 77°30' W)

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Yr. Period
Monthly and Annual Averages of Daily Mean Temp. 22 yrs.	-24.1	-28.2	-20.6	5.6	17.6	34.7	41.5	40.7	30.8	14.8	- 6.9	-19.6	6.3 22
Monthly and Annual Averages of Max.Temp. 22 yrs.	-16.6	-20.6	-13.2	1.9	25.2	40.1	47.8	45.8	34.9	19.9	- 0.9	-12.9	12.6 22
Monthly and Annual Averages of Daily Min. Temp.	-31.5	-35.7	-28.0	-13.1	9.9	29.2	35.2	35.5	26.7	9.7	-12.9	-26.2	- 0.1 22
Extreme Max. Temp. 30 yrs.	32	36	34	58	66	73	77	66	60	45	39	32	77 30
Extreme Min. Temp. 30 yrs	-56	-64	-55	-44	-25	10	21	25	0	-20	-51	-52	-64 30
Monthly and Annual Precip. in inches	00 2.1 .21	.00 2.3 .23	.00 2.7 .27	.00 2.8 .28	T 3.0 .30	3.5 1.0 .45	1.10 T 1.10	1.01 0.5 1.06	.39 4.3 .82	.02 6.5 .67	.00 3.9 .39	.00 2.5 .25	2.87 31.6 6.03 Rain S P

Monthly and Annual Precipitation in inches, averages based on the period 1931-1961 with no adjustment factor being used.

Source: Meteorological Division, Dept. of Transport, Toronto.

FIGURE 6 - Average Monthly Temperatures, Pond Inlet

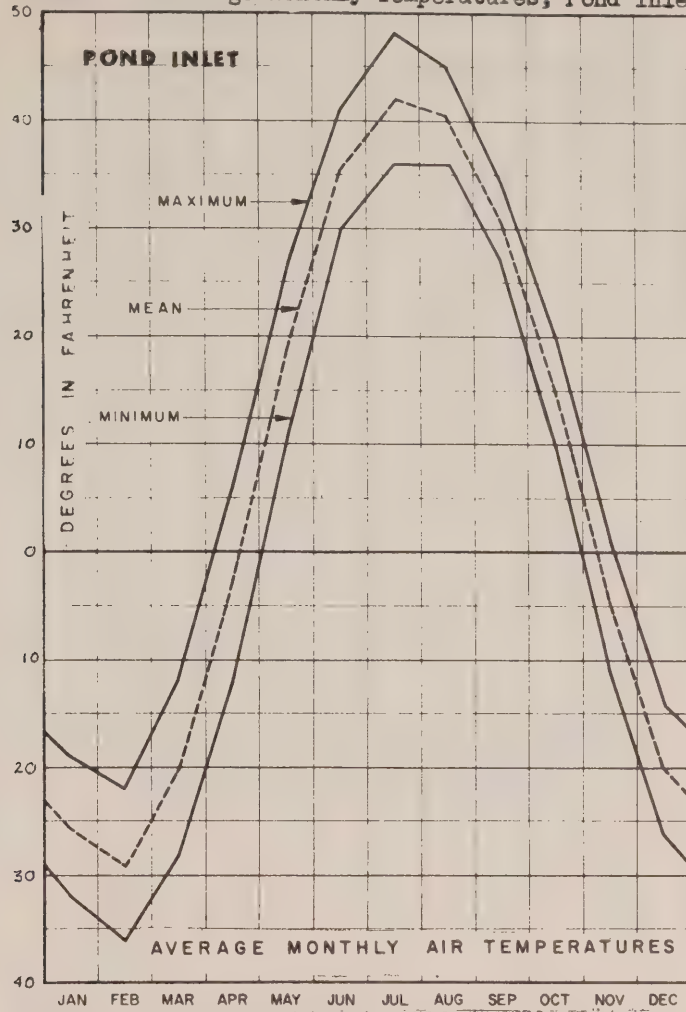


FIGURE 7 - Precipitation, Pond Inlet, N.W.T.

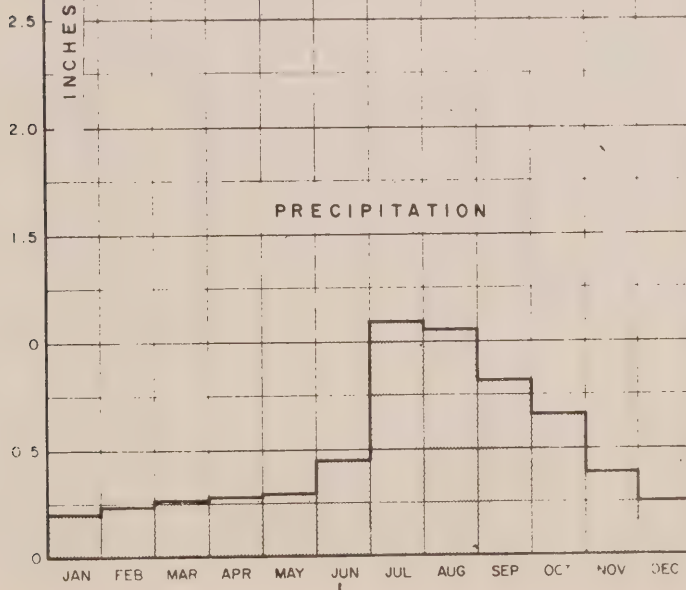


FIGURE 8 - Rainfall, Pond Inlet

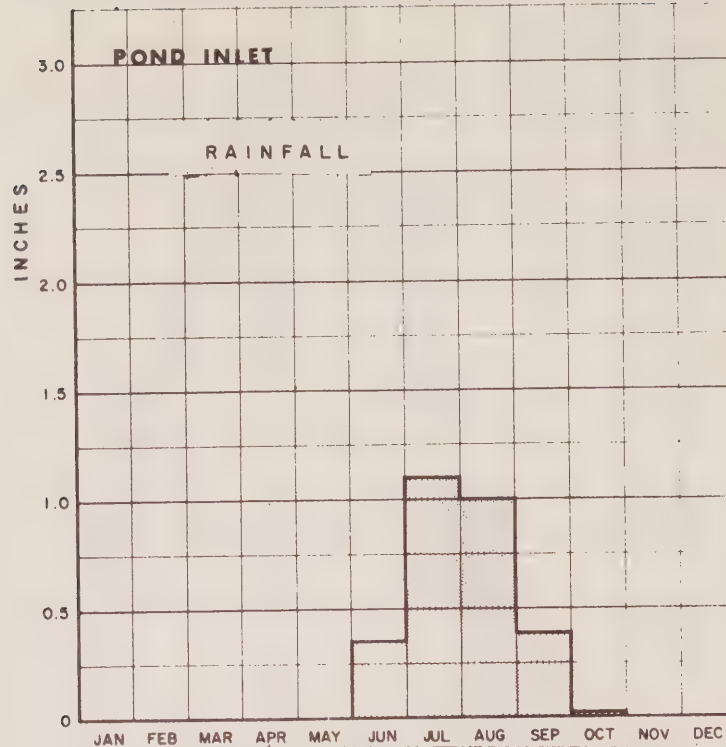


FIGURE 9 - Snowfall, Pond Inlet



TABLE 2 - AVERAGES AND EXTREMES OF CLIMATIC DATA, Clyde, N.W.T.

STATION Clyde

LAT 70° 27'N

LONG 68° 33'W

ALTITUDE ABOVE M.S.L. 10 Ft.

	AIR TEMPERATURE							PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY OF DAYS WITH MINIMUM TEMPERATURES AT or BELOW					Mean Cloud Amount 10ths of Sky Covered
	Mean Daily	Mean of Daily		Mean of Monthly		Highest Recorded	Lowest Recorded	-10°F	-20°F	-30°F	-40°F	-50°F	
		Maximum	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum								
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F						
January	-17.0	-10.1	-23.8	17	-43	32	-49	84	63	37	13	0	4.8
February	-20.1	-12.7	-27.5	11	-42	38	-48	91	76	43	16	0	4.3
March	-15.7	- 7.2	-24.1	13	-40	28	-45	90	68	33	6	0	3.4
April	1.0	10.7	- 8.8	29	-28	38	-42	53	22	2	0	0	4.1
May	20.9	28.8	13.0	41	- 6	48	-14	1	0	0	0	0	6.7
June	34.6	40.5	28.6	52	17	59	10	0	0	0	0	0	6.6
July	40.5	47.3	33.6	63	28	71	22	0	0	0	0	0	6.8
August	39.3	44.7	33.8	58	28	66	22	0	0	0	0	0	7.0
September	32.3	36.7	27.9	48	18	55	12	0	0	0	0	0	7.2
October	20.2	25.0	15.3	35	0	42	-13	1	0	0	0	0	7.6
November	- 0.4	5.9	- 6.7	23	-22	44	-31	42	15	#	0	0	5.5
December	-14.1	- 7.9	-20.2	11	-34	25	-47	81	53	24	2	0	3.8
Year	10.1	16.8	3.4	64	-46	71	-49						5.7
Period	1951 - 1960					1942 - 1960		1951 - 1960					

	PRECIPITATION						WIND			MEAN DAYS WITH		DEGREE DAYS		
	RAIN		SNOW		TOTAL (WATER)		MOST PREVALENT		Average Speed m.p.h.	Fog-Visibility less than 5/8 mile	Blowing Snow-Visibility 6 miles or less	Below 65°F	Below 32°F	Above 32°F
	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Maximum fall in 24 hours	Direction	Percentage						
	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.	In.				a				
January	T	*	4.3	6	0.43	0.73	NW	29	4.6	*	5	2530	1572	0
February	0	0	2.6	4	0.26	0.41	NW	43	7.4	1	5	2390	1484	0
March	T	*	2.0	3	0.20	0.21	NW	35	4.9	*	2	2468	1457	0
April	0	0	4.9	5	0.49	0.95	NW	36	4.7	1	2	1965	953	0
May	T	*	5.4	9	0.54	0.30	NW	43	6.4	3	3	1389	342	7
June	0.08	*	3.2	6	0.40	0.30	NW	59	8.0	2	2	924	25	106
July	0.52	7	3.6	1	0.88	1.28	NW	59	8.5	5	0	756	0	271
August	1.16	8	1.5	2	1.31	1.47	NW	36	6.4	5	0	794	2	244
September	0.58	3	10.9	8	1.67	2.00	NW	48	8.1	1	1	984	53	57
October	T	*	12.4	13	1.24	0.84	NW	32	10.3	*	4	1383	392	4
November	T	*	5.5	9	0.55	0.55	NW	46	7.0	*	4	1902	1003	0
December	T	*	1.7	4	0.17	0.37	NW	38	3.8	*	3	2396	1414	0
Year	2.34	18	58.0	70	8.14	2.00			6.7	18	31	19881	8697	689
Period	1951 - 1960					1955 - 1956					1942-60		1950 - 1959	

Average less than 1 percent

* Average less than 0.5

a Period 1955 - 1960

TABLE 3 - AVERAGES AND EXTREMES OF CLIMATIC DATA, Arctic Bay, N.W.T.

STATION Arctic Bay

LAT 73° 00'N LONG 85° 18'W

ALTITUDE ABOVE M.S.L. 36 Ft.

	AIR TEMPERATURE							PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY OR DAYS WITH MINIMUM TEMPERATURES AT or BELOW					Mean Cloud Amount 10ths of Sky Covered
	Mean Daily	Mean of Daily		Mean of Monthly		Highest Recorded	Lowest Recorded	-10°F	-20°F	-30°F	-40°F	-50°F	
		Maximum	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum								
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F						
January	-21.9	-15.0	-28.7	11	-43	40	-52						3.8
February	-25.2	-18.2	-32.1	9	-46	36	-57						4.1
March	-19.7	-11.4	-27.9	12	-43	34	-49						4.0
April	- 2.2	7.1	-11.4	27	-29	36	-37						4.6
May	18.6	26.1	11.0	38	- 8	51	-15						6.3
June	36.1	41.8	30.3	54	18	63	11						6.4
July	42.4	49.5	35.3	62	30	75	22						6.2
August	40.7	46.4	35.0	56	28	65	24						7.0
September	29.8	33.8	25.7	45	13	56	5						7.6
October	11.8	17.0	6.5	32	-14	44	-26						7.1
November	- 9.2	- 3.0	-15.4	18	-29	36	-42						4.4
December	-18.8	-12.1	-25.5	8	-40	34	-50						3.4
Year	6.9	13.5	0.2	63	-49	75	-57						5.4
Period	1951 - 1960					1937 - 1960		1951 - 1960					

	PRECIPITATION						WIND			MEAN DAYS WITH		DEGREE DAYS		
	RAIN		SNOW		TOTAL (WATER)		MOST PREVALENT		Average Speed m.p.h.	Fog-Visibility less than 5/8 mile	Blowing Snow-Visibility 6 miles or less	Below 65°F	Below 32°F	Above 32°F
	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Maximum fall in 24 hours	Direction	Percentage						
	In.	No.	In.	No.	In.	In.					a			
January	T	*	2.4	7	0.24	0.20				*	9	2678	1728	0
February	0	0	2.0	7	0.20	0.18				1	6	2562	1626	0
March	0	0	2.1	6	0.21	0.29				1	3	2564	1533	0
April	0	0	1.6	4	0.16	0.32				1	3	2055	1013	0
May	T	*	2.9	8	0.29	0.22				2	1	1426	382	2
June	0.23	2	1.6	3	0.39	1.03				1	0	870	32	166
July	0.78	8	0.1	*	0.79	0.62				3	0	682	0	329
August	0.70	7	0.2	1	0.72	0.54				1	0	744	*	282
September	0.38	3	5.1	7	0.89	0.94				1	1	1062	103	44
October	T	*	6.0	11	0.60	0.73				*	1	1606	638	5
November	0	0	2.4	7	0.24	0.15				*	2	2142	1234	0
December	0	0	1.8	5	0.18	0.12				0	2	2542	1565	0
Year	2.09	20	28.2	66	4.91	1.03				11	28	20933	9854	828
Period	1951 - 1960											1937-60	1950 - 1959	

* Average less than 0.5
a Period 1955 - 1960

Autumn

Autumn begins in September. By the middle of October the lakes and ponds are sufficiently frozen in the southern part of the region for ice fishing to begin. In the northern part of the region, the freeze-up of small lakes and ponds is complete by the latter part of September. Autumn is usually the stormiest period of the year. Maximum snowfall occurs during September and October. Short-distance sled trips are feasible on the land using ice-covered lakes and avoiding bare ridges exposed to the wind. Shore-ice forms sufficiently by the end of October in normal years to permit sled travel in the southern part of the region and at the end of September at Resolute and Grise Fiord. The hours of daylight decrease rapidly with the onset of winter and poorer weather conditions. Attempts are made to utilize good hunting days in establishing caches for the winter.

Winter

Freeze-up is complete by mid-November in the southern part of the region. From October to February the weather is generally anticyclonic (high pressure areas). Deep cyclones (low pressure areas) do occur in February moving to the northeast beyond latitude 75 degrees. These contain frontal systems. Slow moving occluded lows are also observed which occasionally give precipitation. Small amounts of fine snow occur frequently, but severe gales and snowstorms may also occur. Snow depths reach a maximum in April. The four coldest months of the year are December, January, February and March. The severe cold of February and March is ameliorated somewhat by the increasing amounts of daylight and improved hunting conditions. Lower temperatures are experienced at Resolute and Grise Fiord than at Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay.

Freeze-up in the Pond Inlet Area

Freeze-up occurs in the Milne Inlet Area, Tay Sound and Paquet Bay first. It is followed by the formation of slush-ice and shore-ice in the Eclipse Sound area. Since September and October are the stormy periods the freezing of Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet may be delayed well into November. In usual years, freeze-up of Pond Inlet may be delayed until December preventing the Ipiarjuk Eskimos from travelling into Pond by dogteam on the sea-ice. Normally the floe-edge had formed off Button Point and at the head of Navy Board Inlet by mid-December and the Eskimos are able to hunt safely from the floe-edge in January. Experienced hunters do not hesitate to travel on thin "rubber" ice, recently formed ice.

Break-up in the Pond Inlet Area

As might be expected break-up occurs in the Tay Sound and Milne Inlet area somewhat earlier than at Pond Inlet. Break-up in the immediate vicinity of Pond Inlet occurs in the latter part of July and early August, being preceded by the dissipation of ice in Pond and Navy Board Inlets. Experienced hunters continued to hunt off Button Point in mid-July, but frequently camp at Button Point or Ipiarjuk if break-up conditions proceed too quickly to enable them to arrive back in Pond Inlet.

Ice Thickness Data

Data is available to show the growth of ice in high latitude locations during the winter period.

FIGURE 12 - Ice Conditions Baffin Bay Area, January, February, March

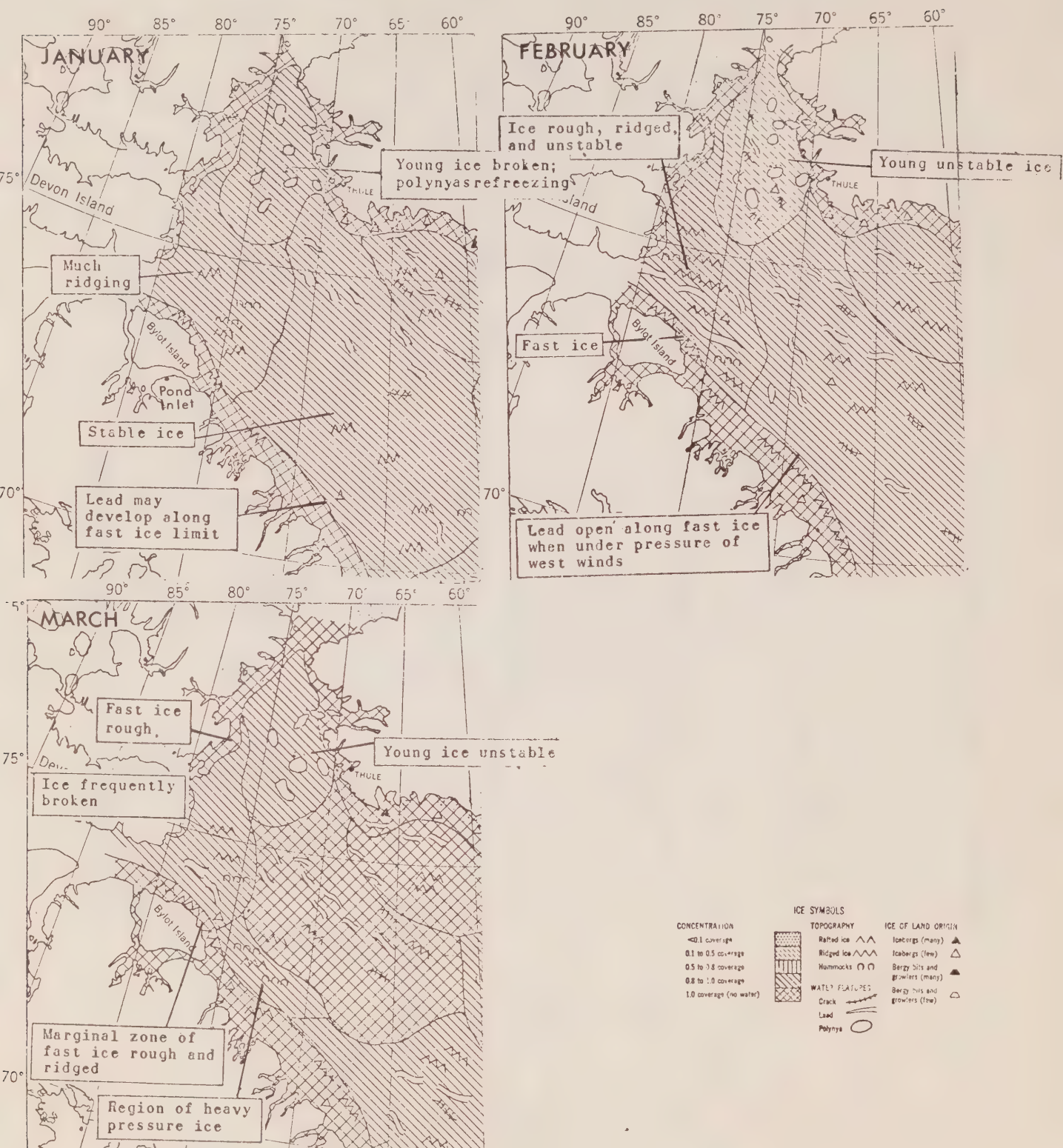
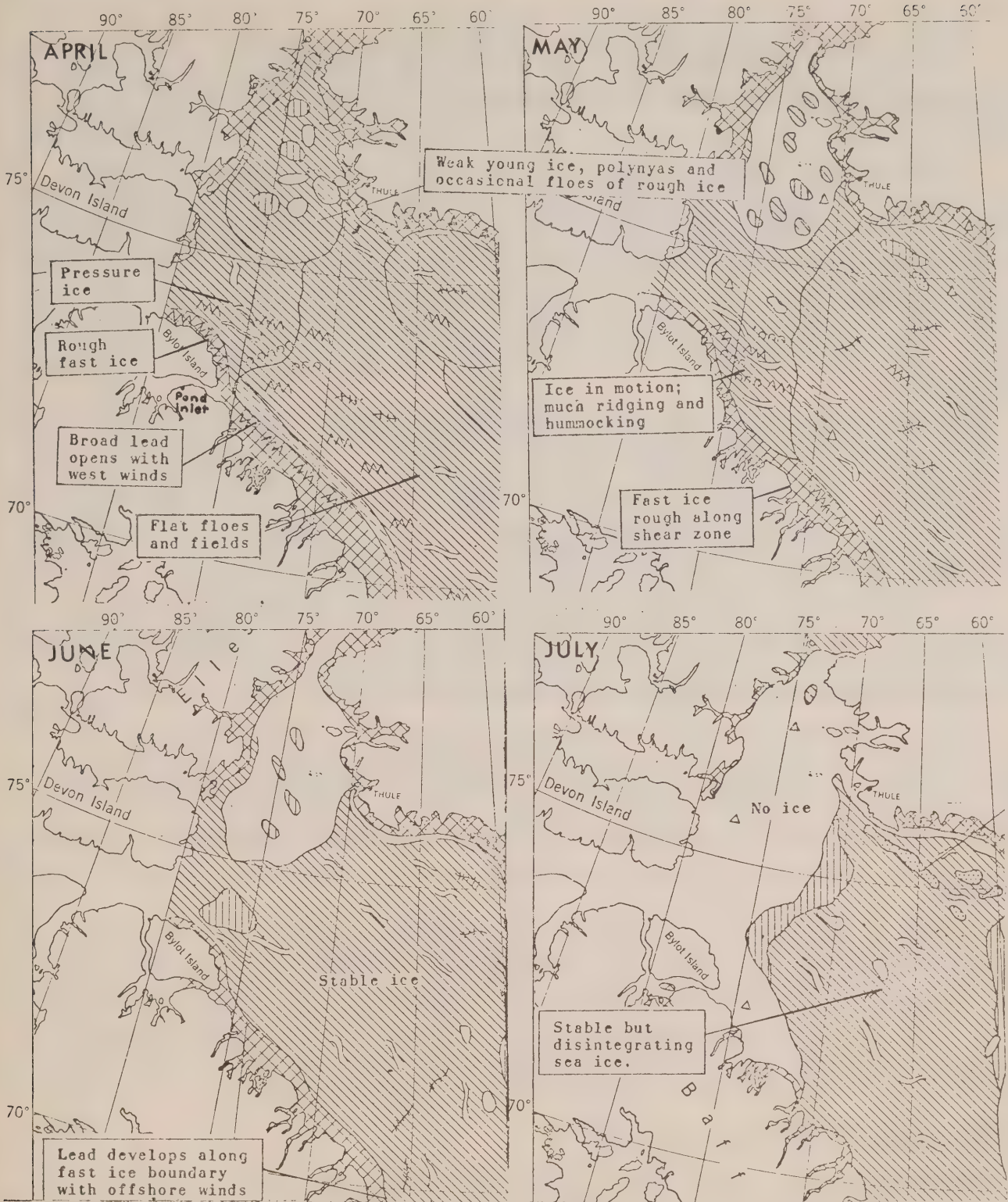


FIGURE 13 - Ice Conditions Baffin Bay Area, April, May, June, July



Puddling of ice beginning south of 73°N; accelerated fragmentation of fields and floes throughout Baffin Bay and Davis Strait; fast ice leaving shores in south and narrowing in the north and west; leads and polynyas increasing in size and number; peck along Greenland coast breaking and boundary receding westward; boundary North Open

TABLE 4 - Ice Thickness Data, Pond Inlet, N.W.T.

Observation Site: One mile North of Hudson's Bay Co. Store

Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)	Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)
Dec. 6, 1965	20.5		April 9, 1966	56.5	09
Dec. 19	25.0		April 16	58.0	09
Dec. 26	27.0		April 23	59.5	09
Jan. 29, 1966	30.0		April 30	61.0	09
Feb. 5	32.0		May 7	63.5	09
March 5	46.0		May 14	64.0	09
March 12	49.0		May 21	64.5	08
March 26	52.5		May 28	64.5	07
April 2	55.0	0.7	June 4	65.0	05

Dept. of Transport, Meteorological Branch, Cir. 4529, 1967

In terms of human occupation, the formation of ice, ice thickness and snow-cover during the early winter months are important factors in hunting. Also the formation of ice is important in those localities where ice strips are used, such as at Arctic Bay, Pond Inlet and Grise Fiord.

Eskimos continue to hunt by boat during the period of slush-ice until out-board motors are no longer functional due to low temperatures. Seals are less wary in slush-ice and loss from sinkage is minimal. The best hunting periods are periods of calm water and overcast days. These infrequent but productive hunting days are used by many hunters in the period before freeze-up.

Currents

In Eclipse Sound there is a counter-clockwise movement to the western entrance of Pond Inlet. There is a tendency for broken pack-ice to choke the entrance to Tay Sound and Paquet Bay. High winds may force ice into the upper part of Milne Inlet. Small amounts of ice from Eclipse Sound move out through Pond Inlet, the mass being dissipated by melting and wind action. Northwest winds in Navy Board Inlet result in the movement of ice, bringing walrus, udjuk and polar bear into the Eclipse Sound area from Lancaster Sound.

Break-up and Freeze-up at Arctic Bay¹

Break-up data for Arctic Bay is incomplete or lacking, but the normal break-up occurs from mid to late July. Similar conditions to those in the Pond Inlet apply in Admiralty Inlet where the upper part of Admiralty Inlet and Bell Bay are open earlier than the central part of the inlet between Strathcona Sound and

¹For observations on break-up and freeze-up at Arctic Bay see Cir. 4116, p.14, October 1964. D.O.T. Meteorological Branch

Yeoman Island. The break-up of the lower end of Admiralty Inlet is hastened by currents and the formation of leads at the mouth of Admiralty Inlet. Freeze-up occurs from late September to mid-October with freeze-up normally occurring in the early part of October.

Variable ice conditions in Admiralty Inlet have caused hardship in some years for Eskimos relying on hunting of seals through the ice to provide food for themselves and their sled dogs. A delay in freeze-up due to variable climatic conditions or high winds, ice thickness and variable snowfalls all can play havoc in regard to securing adequate supplies of seal meat. In the winter of 1960-1961, the Eskimos in the immediate vicinity of Arctic Bay and Strathcona Sound were reduced to feeding their sled dogs oatmeal in order to have them survive the winter. Similar difficulties have also been encountered by Eskimos in the Pond Inlet area.

An open-water area exists between Shimik Island and the east side of Easter Sound in winter. This was formerly an important sealing area for Eskimos living in the southern part of Admiralty Inlet. Open-water also sometimes occurs in the eastern part of Berlinguet Inlet in winter and offers additional opportunities for sealing. In winters of extreme severity, the Easter Sound open-water area becomes frozen over. This causes some difficulty for hunters dependent on sealing throughout the winter in open-water. Open-water zones also exist in the eastern part of Fury and Hecla Strait and Bellot Strait.

Ice Thickness Data

The following table provides some indication of ice thickness in the Arctic Bay area.

TABLE 5 - Ice Thickness Data, Arctic Bay, N.W.T.

Observation Site: On Arctic Bay

Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)	Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)
Oct. 19, 1962	5	Nil	Feb. 8, 1963	45	7
Oct. 26	8	1	Feb. 15	47	7
Nov. 2	12	2	Feb. 22	48	7
Nov. 9	15	2	March 1	50	8
Nov. 17	17	2	March 8	50	8
Nov. 23	22	3	March 15	51	8
Nov. 30	24	3	March 22	52	8
Dec. 7	27	3	March 29	52	9
Dec. 14	31	4	April 5	52	9
Dec. 28	35	5	April 12	52	9
Jan. 4, 1963	37	6	April 19	54	8
Jan. 11	39	6	April 26	56	8
Jan. 18	42	7	May 3	56	8

(Continued)

TABLE 5 - (continued)

Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)	Date	Ice Thickness (Inches)	Snow Depth (Inches)
Jan. 25, 1963	44	7	May 10, 1963	56	10
Feb. 1	44	7	May 17	56	10
			May 24	56	8

Source: D.O.T. Meteorological Branch, Cir. 3918, 1963

Daylight

Variations in daylight are shown in Figure 14. The dark period lasts from the latter part of November to the latter part of January.

Wind Direction

Throughout the area covered in this report the overall prevailing wind direction is from the northwest. However, at Pond Inlet the winds are from:

Month	Wind Direction	Month	Wind Direction
January	S.E., S, S.W.	September	wind direction from all points of compass, exception light winds from N. and N.W.
February	S., S.E., S.W.		
March	S., S.E., S.W.		
April	S.E., S., S.W.		
May	S.W.	October	S.E., S., S.W.
June	S.W., N.E.	November	S.E., S.W., S.
July	N.E., S.W.	December	S.E., S., S.W.
August	N.E., E., S.W.		

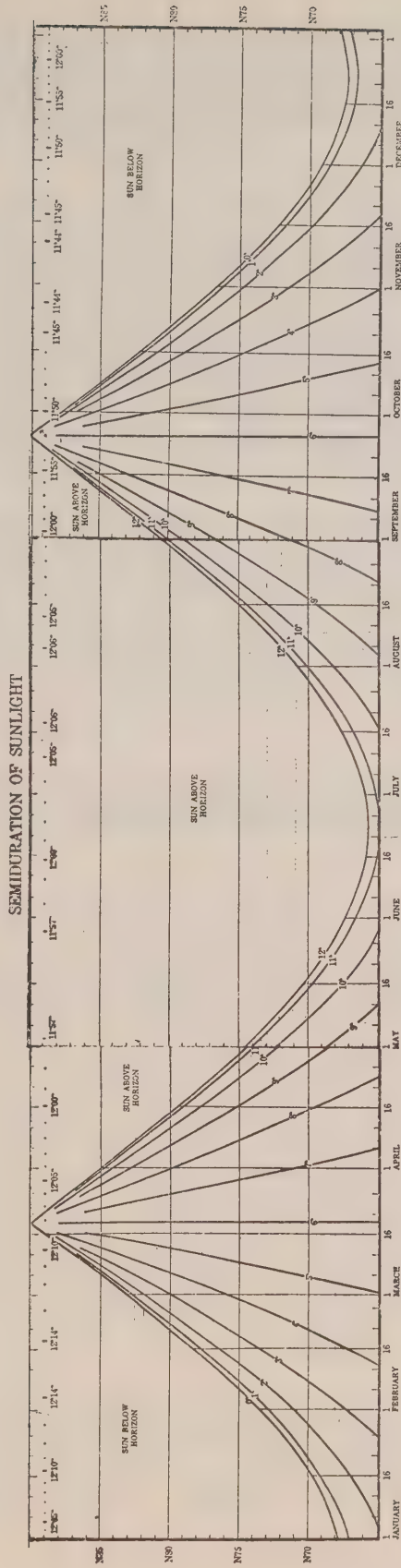
Source: Meteorology of Arctic, D.O.T. from 9000, p.64

Climatic Change

Spring

The advent of spring is indicated by longer hours of daylight. Temperature changes occur slowly. In April, temperature averages are just below zero. Maximum temperatures in May as a rule do not reach the freezing point. The amplitude of diurnal temperature variation is greatest in April or May. In the southern part of the region, land-travel conditions deteriorate with the melting of snow on ridges. May is the month of transition between winter and spring.

FIGURE 14 - Semi-duration of Sunlight, High Northern Latitudes



DURATION OF CIVIL TWILIGHT

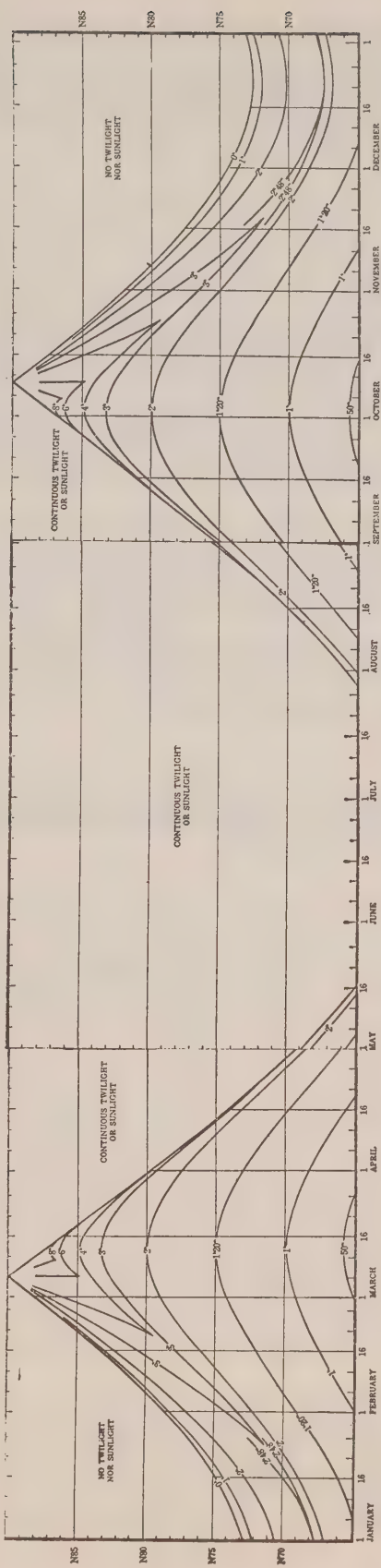


FIGURE 15 - Duration of Civil Twilight, High Northern Latitudes

Summer

July is the warmest month. Wide summer ranges of temperature occur due to wind blowing inward from the sea. In the latter part of August, ice begins to appear on small ponds and lakes.

Autumn

Autumn begins in September. Light snowstorms occur and by the middle of October the lakes and ponds are frozen and shore-ice has formed sufficiently by the end of October to permit sled travel. Maximum snowfall occurs in the autumn months with a secondary maximum from March to May. Autumn is usually the stormiest period of the year. Forming in Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet during October, fast-ice develops eastward and southward to the vicinity of Cape Dyer. Its seaward advance is broad and rapid. The fast-ice extends seaward for eight to ten miles at Bylot Island.

The fast-ice along the east and northeast coast of Bylot has ridges resulting from pressures against the shore. The fast-ice formation between Bylot Island and Cape Dyer has been of considerable significance in past years in terms of communication between Eskimo groups scattered along the east Baffin coast. General ice conditions in the Baffin Bay area have been delimited on the accompanying maps.

Winter

During the coldest months of winter, small amounts of fine snow fall frequently. Infrequent gales and heavy snowstorms may occur during the winter. Snow depths reach a maximum in April.

Vegetation

Vegetation is of primary importance in so far as it provides forage for caribou and hare on north Baffin Island, and muskoxen, caribou and hare on the high Arctic Islands. Certain bird species, snow geese and ptarmigan are also dependent on the vegetation. Indirectly, the fox-trapping economy is based on general vegetation conditions which provide food for lemming populations. The diversity of plant communities and plant species in the area under discussion is due in large part to the diverse physiography and geology. There are severe climatic controls of severe long winters and short, cool summers and there are large areas of snow and ice which remain permanently throughout the year. There are large zones where minimal soil formation or unstable soils, due to solifluction and frost shattering, provide restrictions in the establishments of plant communities. The absence of caribou on Brodeur peninsula appears to be primarily due to scarcity of forage. Rock-desert communities are predominant on Brodeur peninsula and the eastern part of Somerset Island.

Recently emerged areas of boulder till support only isolated clumps of sedge and flowering plants. Elsewhere, rock-desert communities are widely distributed on the glaciated highland areas of north Baffin Island. The rock-desert communities support crustaceous or black foliose lichens. These alternate with lichen and moss heath plant communities.

Drier slopes and banks in sheltered locations are covered with ground shrubs interrupted by light coloured lichens. The dominant species is *Gassiope tetragona*, but other ground shrubs include *Ledum palustre* var. *decumbrens* and *Vaccinium uliginosum* var. *alpinum*. In upland areas, clay tills support little vegetation.

In the central upland, between Eclipse Sound and Steensby Inlet, sandy till is widely distributed, but in shallow valleys and higher parts of the plateau vegetation is relatively scarce.

On morainic hills and gravelly ridges, the vegetation contains much *dryas* while on the lower slopes the vegetation merges with more luxuriant vegetation of valley floors. Damp tundra covers considerable areas of the low-lying more sheltered flats and broad open valleys. It is mixed and variable from place to place. In stagnant places, hillock tundra has developed. Elsewhere, a healthy growth is exhibited by *Salix Richardsonii* var. *McKeandii*.

Most of the less exposed surfaces of the plains support a continuous cover of vegetation of damp, mixed plant communities or drier mixed communities.

In the Coutts Inlet and Buchan Gulf zone there are sufficient areas of vegetation to support caribou despite the general ruggedness of the country. The vegetated zones generally occur in the valley systems or along lower more stabilized slopes.

In the Admiralty Inlet area, mixed grassy, heathy vegetation is present on the low, rolling country of the Janes Till plain in central and southern part of Admiralty Inlet.

Much of the less lofty, but still semi-desert upland country of the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay districts, is vegetated by *Saxifraga oppositifolia* barrens. *Dryas* occurs on upper levels of the sides of rounded hills and ridges or over the gentle undulations that occupy much of the hinterland.

Chapter II - Historical

The work of early explorers, while of interest to historians, contains only fragmentary information in respect to Eskimos and as such is of only passing interest in this report.

William Baffin entered Lancaster Sound as early as 1616, having followed the west coast of Greenland northward and crossing Baffin Bay. Despite this early probing of northern waters, exploratory work remained at a standstill until the early 1800's and renewed interest in the northwest passage.

In 1818, John C. Ross on the first of a long series of British naval expeditions in search of the northwest passage made a landing at Possession Bay, on the east side of Bylot Island. He also discovered Pond's Bay (Pond Inlet).¹ Ross was followed in 1819 by Lt. W. Parry who wintered on Melville Island and discovered the northern entrance to Navy Board Inlet. On his homeward voyage, he sailed into Pond's Bay in 1820, but did not penetrate into Eclipse Sound. However, he made landings further south at Scott Inlet and Clyde Inlet.

Scottish and English whalers who had been working the Greenland coasts for centuries quickly followed the exploratory work of the British Admiralty and pushed west into Lancaster Sound and Prince Regent Inlet in search of whales. The whalers arrived in Greenland waters in June and July arriving at Cape York and Whale Sound in mid-June or July. They then crossed the "north waters" of Baffin Bay and entered Pond's Inlet at the end of July and the beginning of August. During August, dispersal of ice in Lancaster Sound permitted them to cruise as far as Erebus Bay, Port Leopold or Batty Bay. They returned eastward in September before freeze-up, cruising down the east coast of Baffin Island.

As early as 1821, the whalers, "Dexterity" and "Aurora", were wrecked on the Baffin coast in latitude 72 degrees 70 feet north, eighty miles south of Pond Inlet.

While there is no indication as to the contact between whalers and Eskimos during the early period, it seems likely the Eskimos utilized wood and metal salvaged from wreckage of whaling ships whenever they encountered it along the coast. Contact between the two groups was unlikely to occur along the exposed areas of the north Baffin coast and Lancaster Sound areas. Eskimos in fragile kayaks were unlikely to be found on offshore whaling grounds exposed to wind and drift ice. The major point of contact between whalers and Eskimos was in the Pond Inlet area at Button Point on the eastern tip of Bylot Island. Archaeological ruins of Dorset and Thule culture are present at this site attesting to its importance in seal and bear hunting.

Button Point and Pond Inlet appear to have been the only locations on the north Baffin coast where whalers stopped with any regularity. Small shore

¹Historical journals refer to Pond Inlet as Pond's Bay or Pond's Inlet

stations for rendering blubber, hunting and securing supplies of fresh meat and fish as well as bartering with wandering Eskimo groups came into being at Pond Inlet, Clyde River, Cape Henry Kater, Kivitoo and in the Cumberland Gulf area. The occurrence of whalers at Pond Inlet with some regularity appears to have been something of a stabilizing factor in Eskimo movements as the Eskimos became increasingly involved in barter with the whalers.

However, contact with the whalers prompted exploratory movements by some Eskimos which, in fact, became migrations. The outstanding example of this was the movement of northern Baffin Eskimos living in the Admiralty Inlet area to Greenland. The last movement of Eskimos took place in 1895. The whalers are believed to have informed the Eskimos of other groups living on Greenland.

In 1858, Captain F.L. M'Clintock who had been commissioned to search for traces of the Franklin expedition visited Pond Inlet, having drifted in the ice out of Lancaster Sound.¹ The whalers who had come into the area before 1830 were well established in Pond Inlet and Eclipse Sound. M'Clintock (1859, p.27) found an old woman and a boy at Button Point in July who had been left behind by other Eskimos to barter with the whalers.

M'Clintock reported that in July, 1854, while a Captain Deuchars was at Pond Inlet many Eskimos visited his ship coming over the ice on 12 or 14 sledges made of ship's planking. Another captain Parker told M'Clintock of an Eskimo he met one summer at Durban Island and met the next year at Pond Inlet, a distance of approximately 525 miles by dogteam.

M'Clintock (1859, p.146) states that Eskimos came to the ship in their kayaks bringing whalebone and narwhal tusks to barter. The Eskimos drew several charts for the whalers.

M'Clintock elaborated on the subsistence cycle of the Eskimos encountered regularly by whalers at Pond Inlet and Button Point. "These people usually winter in snow-huts at Green Point, a mile or two within the northern entrance of Pond's Bay. They hunt seal and narwhal, but when the sea becomes open they retire to Karparoktolik (on the south coast of Bylot Island well within Pond's Inlet); and when the remaining ice breaks-up, usually about the middle of August, a further migration takes place across the inlet to the southwest where reindeer abound and large salmon are numerous in the winter. Every winter they communicate with the Igloolik people. By barter they secured iron pyrites for making fire, from people inhabiting the land to the west of Navy Board Inlet."

In 1869, C.F. Hall, an American explorer, visited the Igloolik Eskimos at Pingerqalik in Foxe Basin and found them in possession of iron which they said had come from the north. He also found Tununirmiut and Tununirusirmiut Eskimos from the Pond Inlet and Admiralty Inlet area settled among the Igloolik Eskimos. The existence of iron and other metal implements among the Igloolik Eskimos is indicative of the barter which occurred both on a direct basis with whalers and as inter-group bartering between Eskimos.

¹ M'Clintock, F., In the Arctic Seas, 1859

Many of the discoveries of the whalers remained unpublished partly due to the reluctance of the whaling captains to reveal good hunting areas. It was not until 1872, that Captain Adams of the whaler Arctic drew a sketch map of northern Baffin Island and made known the insularity of Bylot Island.

It now remained for Franz Boas, a distinguished German anthropologist doing research in the Cumberland Sound area in 1883-1884 to delineate the occupation zones of various Eskimo groups in the latter half of the 19th century.^{*1} These were:

1. The Padlimiut occupying the Padlei Fiord area
2. The Akudnirmiut (Home Bay area)
3. The Tununirmiut (Eclipse Sound area)
4. The Tununirusirmiut (Admiralty Inlet and North Devon)
5. The Iglulirmiut (Fury and Hecla Strait)
6. The Amitormiut (East coast of Melville Peninsula)
7. The Pilingmiut (East coast of Foxe Basin)
8. The Saglirmiut (Islands of Foxe Basin)

Boas found two Iglulirmiut (Iglulik Eskimos) among the Akudnirmiut in the Home Bay area and a few Tununirmiut living in Cumberland Sound.^{**1}

In addition to the whaling activities in the Pond Inlet, Lancaster Sound area, whalers were also active in Hudson Bay and established small stations at Repulse Bay and elsewhere. In 1963, an Iglulik Eskimo reported the remains of a whaling station on Winter Island.¹ He may have confused this with the Fifth Thule expedition. An older Eskimo reported that one winter a whaling ship wintered on the north side of Lyon Inlet.²

An Aivilik Eskimo woman living at Hall Beach, N.W.T. reported that her parents travelled as far as the Port Harrison area and the Belcher Islands before being returned to the Wager Bay area.³

^{*1}Boas, F., The Central Eskimo, 1888, first published as part of the Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.A., reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press in 1964.

^{**1}The Eskimos of the Foxe Basin area have been variously referred to as Iglulirmiuts, Igluligmiut, Iglulik Eskimos and Igloodik Eskimos. For the purpose of this report they will be called the Iglulik Eskimos. It is interesting to note the present main settlement of Igloodik is referred to as Ikpiadjuk or Ikpiarkjuk by the Iglulik Eskimos. The wide variations in the names applied to the Foxe Basin Eskimos appears to have arisen from phonetic interpretations by various authors. (1), (2), (3), personal communications with the Iglulik Eskimos.

The Scottish whalers are reported to have used Eskimos to a lesser extent on their whaling ships than the Americans whaling in Hudson Bay. It seems likely that the Scottish whalers found the Eskimos less willing to undertake long voyages in the waters of the high Arctic. While they didn't use the Eskimos for offshore whaling, it is evident from various reports that they did use them in inshore whaling and at the small onshore whaling stations. Tremblay (1921, p.30) reported the whalers issued supplies of biscuits, tobacco, mollasses and tea to the Eskimos so that they would remain in the area during the winter to be on hand for whaling operations in the following year. He further states that the men were sent to hunt seal and narwhal in the ice-cracks at Button Point while the women were employed at rendering blubber into oil.¹

The Dundee whalers established a trading station at Igadjuak manned in the winters by a single trader. It was at this station that a few Eskimos learned English. Tremblay found a few individuals among the Eskimos who could converse in English. In the 1890's the whalers were fishing the waters off of Nova Zembla Island and in Coutts Inlet as well as the Lancaster Sound area. The whaling captains had favoured locations for reindeer (caribou) hunting and one of these was Milne Inlet. Lubbock (The Arctic Whalers, 1937, p.449) reported that at the close of the fishing season (whaling season) in 1908, the Eclipse took a cargo from the Pond's Bay station of 1 black whale, 9 walrus, 671 seals, 36 bears, 20 foxes and 17 tons of oil.²

There were a number of factors leading to a close in whaling operations, the major one being drop in whalebone prices and a decrease in the number of whales.² The cargo of the Eclipse in 1908 indicated the fact that whalers were harvesting anything of value they could lay their hands on to fill their ships' holds before returning home. The Canadian Government was also making attempts to licence whalers in Canadian waters. (Bernier, C.J., 1910, p.60, p.143). The whaling captains appear to have avoided licensing whenever possible.

The Canadian Government expedition headed by A.P. Low stopped briefly at Pond's Inlet in the summer of 1903. The expedition penetrated Lancaster Sound to Beechey Island and Port Leopold.

In 1906, the "C.G.S. Arctic" under C.J. Bernier left Quebec and sailed north to Pond Inlet. Landings were made at Pond Inlet, Bylot Island, Port Leopold, Griffith Island, Cornwallis, Bathurst, Byam Martin, Melville Island,

¹Tremblay, A., The Cruise of the Minnie Maud, 1921.
Tremblay's work contains a number of interesting descriptions and anecdotes in respect to the whaling era. It also provides information in regard to general conditions among the Eskimos on northern Baffin Island during the 1912-1913 period

²Value of a whale by 1905 ranged in the vicinity of \$8,000 to \$10,000. Whalebone prices were \$4.00 to \$5.00 a pound and whale oil was worth around \$200 a ton. In 1906, the development of commercial substitutes brought a complete collapse of the market and whalers deserted the Arctic due to high operating costs.

Russell and Beechy Islands. Admiralty Inlet was penetrated to 71 degrees 12 feet north. The Expedition wintered at Albert Harbour, Pond Inlet. Sled trips were made to the head of Milne Inlet. Following break-up the expedition entered Prince Regent Inlet before turning south.

In 1912-1913, the Minnie Maud captained by C. Bernier with A. Tremblay on board was one of the three vessels that went to Pond Inlet to search for gold. The search for gold was sparked by tales by old whalers and the discovery of mineralizations by members of the Arctic expedition.

Fur Trading Posts

Small fur trading posts were opened as early as 1903 at Pond Inlet (and also at Fullerton Harbour on the west coast of Hudson Bay 1903). An American trading company operated in the Wager Bay and Repulse Bay at the turn of the century. These were outgrowths of whaling depots where patterns of barter had been established with the Eskimos.

Janes a former member of the Arctic expedition established himself south of the Salmon River at Tuniaqtalik Point, from 1913 to 1920, the year of his death, and engaged in trading operations. He had actually come to search for gold. Janes was killed in an altercation with Eskimos at Cape Crauford while attempting to reach Igloodik.

Henry Toke Munn established a small trading post at Button Point in 1913. He had been lured to the Pond Inlet area by tales of an old Scottish whaler who reported finding gold near Pond Inlet. Munn actively traded with the Eskimos, making trips to Admiralty Inlet and Igloodik and encouraging the Eskimos to come to Button Point. In 1923, Munn purchased Jane's furs which included muskox skins taken on hunting expeditions by the Eskimos in the Barrow Strait area. Munn (1930, p.255) reported the appearance of 10 sleds of Iglulik Eskimos who gave September-killed caribou skins to the Pond's Inlet Eskimos. Munn sold out his Button Point establishment to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1923. During the 1920's and 1930, the Hudson's Bay Company embarked on an expansion of fur trading posts in the high Arctic. A post was established at Clyde River in 1923.

The murder of Janes, the subsequent investigation by the R.C.M.P. lead to the establishment of the R.C.M.P. at Pond Inlet. The R.C.M.P. established additional posts at Dundas Harbour (1942), Craig Harbour (1922) and Bache Peninsula (1926). In the Pond Inlet area, the police made extensive patrols by dogteam visiting scattered Eskimo camps. These patrols extended to the Home Bay area on the eastern coast of Baffin Island and into the Admiralty Inlet and Foxe Basin areas.¹

A number of trading posts were operated for short durations. The Hudson's Bay Company built a post at Arctic Bay in 1926. This post closed in 1927 following the formation of the Arctic Islands Game preserve and was not re-

¹The annual reports of the R.C.M.P. provide an excellent source of information on general conditions on north Baffin Island and in the northern Foxe Basin area

opened until 1936. The Company also made an attempt to establish a trading post at Port Leopold on Somerset Island but this was unsuccessful due to the difficulties of re-supply. A few trappers from Labrador were transported into the area but were returned home when the post closed. Hudson's Bay Company employees from Pond Inlet travelled to camps in the Admiralty Inlet and Foxe Basin areas to inform Eskimos living in the scattered hunting camps that Tukik (Arctic Bay) and Sekanik (Port Leopold) were closed and advising them to trade into Pond Inlet. In the 1930's, Eskimos living in the Buchan Gulf region traded at Pond Inlet or Clyde River.

Dundas Harbour Post, 1934-1936 - Tadlerotik

A post was established in 1934 on Devon Island. There were no Eskimos living on the island and 22 Eskimo men, women and children from Cape Dorset, 12 from Pangnirtung and 18 from Pond Inlet were transported by the Nascopie to Dundas Harbour with their hunting and trapping equipment. The Eskimos found rough ice chocking the harbour, which made sea mammal hunting difficult. The Hudson's Bay Company manager dispersed half of the Eskimos to Croker Bay. The Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung Eskimos disliked the long winter period of darkness. The more superstitious of the Eskimos were also fearful during the dark period. In the 1935-1936 season the white fox take was 1,000. In addition, two blue fox and two wolves were taken. The following year, 6 polar bear, 323 white fox and 2 blue were listed as the fur take.

The Hudson's Bay Company manager with the Eskimos established walrus meat caches along the south coast to provide for a failure of the arrival of a supply ship. The Hudson's Bay Company closed the post due to poor ice conditions and moved the Eskimos to Arctic Bay.

Fort Ross, 1937-1947

Fort Ross was opened in 1937 on Somerset Island by combined forces of the Hudson's Bay Company operating from the western Arctic and the eastern Arctic. It was built to draw the trade of any Eskimos living on Boothia and Somerset and to tap what was believed to be an area rich in furs. Some of Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung Eskimos who had been at Dundas Harbour transferred from Arctic Bay to Fort Ross. Fort Ross was closed in 1947 due to difficulties of re-supply. A post was subsequently opened at Spence Bay.

Some indication of the place of trapping in the economy of the north Baffin Eskimos can be obtained from the Arctic white fox returns for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay over an extended period.

TABLE 6 - White Fox Traded at Pond Inlet, 1921 to 1954

Pond Inlet Season	White Fox Take	Season	Average Value of White Fox, N.W.T. (dollars)
1921-1922	318	1921	35.26
1922-1923	1,048	1922	40.60

(Continued)

TABLE 6 - (continued)

Pond Inlet Season	White Fox Take	Season	Average Value of White Fox, N.W.T. (dollars)
1923-1924	1,355	1923	38.50
1924-1925	312	1924	38.76
1925-1926	1,866	1925	32.93
1926-1927	844	1926	31.43
1927-1928	382	1927	44.70
1928-1929	1,333	1928	42.00
1929-1930	3,515	1929	54.15
1930-1931	2,384	1930	32.81
1931-1932	479	1931	22.18
1932-1933	2,811	1932	14.04
1933-1934	3,113	1933	19.51
1934-1935	904	1934	17.94
1935-1936	450	1935	15.31
1936-1937	1,698	1936	15.31
1937-1938	971	1937	13.00
1938-1939	700	1938	11.57
1939-1940		1939	11.12
1940-1941	844	1940	8.24
1941-1942	933	1941	18.27
1942-1943	1,020	1942	25.85
1943-1944	342	1943	28.00
1944-1945	988	1944	32.25
1945-1946	1,309	1945	36.00
1946-1947	839	1946	21.50
1947-1948	503	1947	13.50
1948-1949	570	1948	11.00
1949-1950	531	1949	8.80
1950-1951	857	1950	6.50
1952-1953	350	1951	11.47
1953-1954	536	1952	7.70
		1953	8.38

In 1936, the Hudson's Bay Company purchased the Repulse Bay trading post operated by the Revillon **Frères**, a rival trading organization. The Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post at Igloolik in 1939.

Until 1936, the Arctic Bay Admiralty Inlet trappers traded at Pond Inlet Repulse Bay or were visited by traders. Also until 1939, the Iglulik Eskimos traded at Pond Inlet and Repulse Bay and subsequently traded at Pond or Repulse Bay during the period the Igloolik post was closed in 1943-1947. Records are not available to indicate the amount of furs traded by the Iglulik Eskimos. However, some groups did manage to trade sufficient furs to equip themselves with whaleboats from Pond Inlet.

TABLE 7 - Polar Bear Take, Pond Inlet, 1931 to 1949

Year	Number Traded	Year	Number Traded
1931-1932	4	1940-1941	-
1932-1933	6	1941-1942	-
1933-1934	36	1942-1943	3
1934-1935	4	1943-1944	2
1935-1936	2	1944-1945	13
1936-1937	4	1945-1946	3
1937-1938	7	1946-1947	8
1938-1939	8	1947-1948	3
1939-1940	2	1948-1949	1

TABLE 8 - Arctic Bay Fur Returns, 1936 to 1948

Year	Polar Bear	Blue Fox	White Fox	Weasel	Wolf
1936-1937	-	14	751	-	-
1937-1938	-	26	2,528	26	-
1938-1939	-	19	1,776	91	-
1939-1940	-	20	1,267	-	-
1940-1941	1	2	4	-	-
1941-1942	-	19	1,755	-	-
1942-1943	2	22	2,649	53	-
1943-1944	4	33	3,112	6	-
1944-1945	2	21	1,966	14	-
1945-1946	-	40	3,478	53	2
1946-1947	4	46	4,431	175	-
1947-1948	29	57	4,846	139	7

The increase in fox between 1943 and 1947 may be attributed partly to fur trade originating from Igloolik and the Foxe Basin area when the post at Igloolik was closed due to re-supply problems. In 1946-1948 Fort Ross trappers traded into Arctic Bay.

Mathiassen (1928, p.34) a member of the Fifth Thule expedition in 1921-1922 outlined the subsistence cycle of the Pond's Inlet Eskimo in the following manner:-

"For the Eskimos at Ponds Inlet, Button Point (Sanerun) is the spring settlement; they gather here in May-June for utoq-seal hunting and later on the very profitable hunting of narwhals from the ice edge and in open-holes and cracks in the ice. Since the Hudson's Bay Company built a small station at the adjacent Koroqdjuaq in 1923; this has now become the principal hunting ground. As the ice gradually breaks up, the Eskimos move further in to Qaersut, Albert Harbour or Kaparotalik, where M'Clintock's expedition met them in August 1858. When the ice is quite broken up, they now move to the two trading stations, Igadjuaq and Mitimatalik, where they spend the summer, hunting seals by kayak

although some of the seven families in the summer of 1923 go away hunting before the ice breaks; important grounds for this are Qorloqtoq in Milne Inlet (where Eskimos sometimes live the year-round, on salmon fishing), Low Point on the west side of Navy Board Inlet and the head of Arctic Sound. Before the trading stations were built, Qilalukan and Qaersuarssuit were important summer settlements. Late in the winter, when caribou hunting is over, they formerly assembled at Qilalukan, the principal settlement in winter."

The Pond Inlet Eskimos had umiaks in addition to kayaks, but these were built on the modified whaleboat principle with sealskins stretched over wooden frames. Aged Eskimo informants at Pond reported seeing one of these in the Milne Inlet area capable of carrying four men, and another in the Buchan Gulf area with caribou sleeping skins being used as sails.¹ Mathiassen reported in 1923 that six kayaks were in use in the Pond Inlet area.² One was newly built and a seventh was in a stage of construction. Only one kayak was reported to be in use in the Igloodik area. In the thirties kayaks were still being used in hunting narwhal and seal. Rifles were used in kayak hunting in addition to the harpoon. Undoubtedly the existence of sheltered fiords and bays was the major factor in the continued use of the kayak in Pond Inlet, Eclipse Sound and Buchan Gulf as compared to the unsheltered coastlines in Foxe Basin.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the subsistence cycle of the Tununirumiut and Tununirusirmiut Eskimos was based on hunting and trapping. The major modifications were, of course, the introduction of steel traps, rifles and whaleboats and non local foods. Igadjuak superseded both Qilalukan and Tulukan as a major winter camp.³ Winter games were held at Igadjuak. Spring games were held at Button Point. The Arctic Bay and Iglulik Eskimos came to trade at Pond Inlet in April and May. The closer camps in Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet also visited the post at Christmas and Easter.

The seal set-gun was introduced by a member of the R.C.M.P. in the early 1930's and was presumably an evolution of the set-gun used in sub-Arctic trapping.

Territorial Knowledge

In earlier times it appears that the general resource utilization zone was much larger. Certain individuals over the course of a lifespan travelled extensively and had knowledge of north and central Baffin Island, Somerset Island, Prince of Wales Island, Cornwallis Island and Bathurst Island. In contrast, it may be assumed, on the basis of existing resources, that some individuals moved over relatively short distances in time with the seasonal changes.

In 1922, Mathiassen (1928, p.22) gathered some information on the birthplace of adult Eskimo men at Pond's Inlet as well as their travels over a period of years. Of 55 men, whom he interviewed, 25 were born at Pond Inlet, four at

¹Personal communication

²Mathiassen, T., Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos, Copenhagen, 1928

³Igadjuak and Igarjuaq are synonymous in this report

Admiralty Inlet, 20 at Iglulik, one at Cape Wilson, one at Repulse Bay, one at Depot Island and three at Home Bay.

Of 33 adult men, 32 had been at Admiralty Inlet, 24 at Iglulik, 16 at Fiord Anaulering (Cambridge Fiord), 5 at River Clyde, 4 at Home Bay, 13 at Repulse Bay, 8 at Wager Bay, 7 at Fullerton, 6 at Depot Island and at Chesterfield Inlet, 7 at Piling Island, one at Nyboe's Fiord, 14 on North-Devon, 5 on North Somerset Island, one on Bathurst Island, one on Cornwallis Island and one on Prince of Wales Island.

Caribou

In 1935-1936 caribou were fairly plentiful inland from Clyde and Home Bay and along the east and north side of Foxe Basin.¹ A few were seen by Eskimos on Melville Peninsula, inland between Navy Board Inlet and southwest of Tay Sound, the total reported kill being 661. The Coutts Inlet Eskimos reported that wolves were molesting caribou in that area. The R.C.M.P. Igloodik patrol saw many caribou tracks in the Gifford River area and north of Foxe Basin.²

Caribou were plentiful in the Pond Inlet area during fall and winter of 1936-1937. East Baffin camps did well getting sufficient for their needs. Iglulik Eskimos did well on their autumn hunt. Arctic Bay natives and surrounding camps did not get many caribou. A total of 1,499 caribou were killed by the hunters during the period.

In 1939-1940 a total of 377 caribou, exclusive of the Iglulik hunters' take, constituted the total caribou kill for the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Clyde areas.³

The winter of 1940-1941 was reported to be severe. Caribou were said to be plentiful along the east side of Foxe Basin and the Pond Inlet people hunted on northeast coast of Bylot Island.⁴

Extended inland caribou hunting trips were made from Igadjuaq in the summer. A 52-year-old informant at Pond Inlet reported travelling by kayak to the Oliver Sound area while his wife, children and pack dogs travelled overland. They moved south to Ikaluit and then south by ridges to Inutorfik Lake carrying a small tent of split sealskins, and hunting caribou as they went, caching the meat for pick-up by dogteam in the winter. The man's parents remained at Igadjuaq hunting sea mammals and setting up stores of seal whale meat and blubber. By mid-August caribou skins were suitable for women's clothing while in late August and early September suitable trail clothing skins could be taken for the men. Similar inland trips were made from the Low Point area and to the west from Strathcona Sound by Eskimos in Admiralty Inlet. Inland trips of this nature continued until caribou became fewer in numbers in the 1950's.

¹R.C.M.P. report on Game Conditions, Pond Inlet, 1936-1957

²Annual Report on Pond Inlet, 1935-1936

³Game Conditions, 1939-1940

⁴Game Conditions, 1940-1941

Extended Hunting Trips

The Pond Inlet people formerly left Pond Inlet and entered Navy Board Inlet. From Bluff Head they proceeded west into Admiralty Inlet although infrequent crossings were made from Bluff Head to Cape Home depending on the ice conditions in Lancaster Sound. This was a risky crossing due to moving ice. The majority of hunters preferred to use the western route across the heads of the Borden and Brodeur Peninsulas, and south into Prince Regent Inlet to Batty Bay and then north to Cape Clarence and west to Garnier Bay on north Somerset Island and northwest to Cornwallis Island. After a successful crossing from Garnier Bay area to Cornwallis Island they hunted the coastal areas of Bathurst Island in the Freeman Cove, McDougall Sound area and Cornwallis and Devon Islands to Croker Bay, hunting muskox and polar bear.

Some preferred to turn south in Admiralty Inlet hunting seal along the way and contacting Eskimo camps. They either turned homeward from Admiralty Inlet and followed their original path around the top of Borden Peninsula or remained in the camps in the Arctic Bay area.

Those crossing to the islands north of Lancaster Sound frequently overwintered rather than attempting to return in the same season. They wintered in Maxwell Bay or Erebus Bay. Only those skilled hunters with good dogteams made trips of this distance. As late as 1959, an Arctic Bay group made this trip hunting polar bear all along the south coast of Devon Island.

Welfare

Welfare consisted primarily of the issuance of food and clothing to Eskimos. The main reasons for welfare being issued were poor hunting, poor health and accidental fires or loss of equipment. Of twelve cases listed in 1954 for the Pond Inlet area, three were for poor hunting, three were for accidental fires, and the remainder were for health reasons. The Eskimos were encouraged to stay out of the settlement and on the land. The major source of income was fox trapping. Some income was derived from coal mining at Pond Inlet for the Hudson's Bay Company, the R.C.M.P. and the missions. At ship time, the Eskimos were on hand to renew depleted supplies and obtain some revenue in the form of goods in return for assisting in the unloading of ships. Employment opportunities were limited in the settlement. The more capable Eskimo hunters were encouraged to become special constables with the R.C.M.P. Following the establishment of the more northern outposts, Pond Inlet Eskimos were used as special constables at Dundas Harbour and Grise Fiord. Local Eskimos served as clerks and labourers with the Hudson's Bay Company and were called upon by the missionaries to accompany them on trips to outlying camps.

During the years, there was close contact with other groups. Eskimos of the Pond Inlet area were familiar with the Admiralty Inlet area and relationships were well-established with the Iglulik Eskimos. Between Pond Inlet and Clyde River there were a number of semi-permanent camps, and in the area of Scott Inlet, Pond Inlet Eskimos and Eskimos of the Clyde River area lived together in established camps.

In 1947, the establishment of family allowances became a stabilizing factor in Eskimo movements. The disc-list system had been established in 1941

and in 1946-1947 an attempt was made to include Eskimos in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas who had not been included in previous censuses in the district. Delayed birth registrations were recorded for a number of people particularly in the Arctic Bay area and in the Cresswell Bay, Somerset Island area. The R.C.M.P. were delegated with the responsibility of supervising the issuing of family allowance credits through voucher systems. The voucher system listed the goods to be traded and the Eskimos were carefully guided in their purchase of goods. Money did not become a real part of the economy until the early 1960's. Despite this, coinage and paper money are scarce commodities in the settlements since payments to Eskimos are made in the form of cheques or other scrip which are simply credited to accounts at local trading posts.

Pond Inlet Eskimos were included in the crew of the St. Roche on the Northwest Passage in 1944. One family went as far as Cambridge Bay, while another family was taken as far as Herschel Island. Both families made their way home to Pond Inlet by following the chain of trading posts which had been established in the western Arctic, and stopping briefly in Eskimo camps along the way.

Mathiassen comments on the wooden shacks occupied by Eskimos at Pond Inlet in 1922-1923. During the early phase of white Eskimo contact the stone, turf and whalebone qarmat or the snowhouse were the usual forms of winter accommodation. Whenever possible the sod and stone qarmats were supplemented by wooden frames, but at no time was wood available in sufficient quantities to permit its widespread use in the construction of qarmats. Igarjuaq remained the principal camp for housing incorporating wood. Elsewhere Eskimos built houses of sods or they occupied stone and turf ruins erected by their predecessors.

Snowhouses erected at favourable hunting locations were lined inside with sealskins. The snowhouses were as comfortable as the sod and stone qarmat. As late as the winter of 1939, one group of the Admiralty Inlet Eskimos was wintering in ice houses in the southern part of the inlet. Blubber was sun-rendered or produced by heat rendering with a fire produced from bones, blubber, twigs and on occasion scraps of wood. For fuel requirements, heat rendering was a relatively easy process. Estimates given by Eskimos for heating and cooking requirements for sod and stone qarmats by seal-oil lamps were twenty seal-skin pokes for a single lamp or four forty-five gallon drums of oil for two lamps.¹

Whaleboats became increasingly important in the subsistence economy. In the 1930's, the approximate cost of a whaleboat with sail only was 50 foxes at \$12.00 per fox, or approximately \$600. A complete outfit of whaleboat engine, sails and auxiliary equipment ranged up to \$1,000 in price or 80 or 90 foxes. During this period, whaleboats were well distributed among the Eskimo camps. Mr. A. Stevenson reported in 1935-1936 that 3 whaleboats were purchased by the Iglulik Eskimos.² Some innovations were introduced into the subsistence economy; these being seal set-guns and seal nets.

¹Personal communication with Pond Inlet Eskimos

²Personal communication

Missionaries

Blacklead Island (1894-1926) and Pangnirtung (1928) were the first mission establishments of the Church of England on the east Baffin coast. Although Anglican missionaries did not arrive at Pond Inlet until 1929 they were preceded by Eskimo travellers who brought the news of a new religion back from extended dogteam trips to Cumberland Sound. Mathiassen (1928, p.235) states that some Bibles in the Peck syllabic system arrived at Pond Inlet from Cumberland Sound prior to 1920. Aged informants at Pond Inlet verified this information. From Pond Inlet it was carried to the Igloolik region in 1920. Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries arrived in Pond Inlet in 1929, and both missions have been in continuous existence since that period. In 1937, Oblate missionaries established a mission at Arctic Bay. The usual rivalry between missions prevailed and in the same year Cannon Turner from Pond Inlet established a mission at Moffet Inlet to be closer to Eskimos in the southern part of Admiralty Inlet. The following year, he established an outstation at Fort Ross. The early introduction of Anglicanism from the Cumberland Gulf area appears to have provided the Anglican missionaries with some advantage and the Oblates found converts not among the Tununirmiut and Tununirusirmiut but rather among the Iglulik Eskimos of Abajan, a group of whom were converted in 1929 at Pond Inlet. The Peck syllabic system provided the north Baffin Eskimo with a means of written communication and hastened the introduction of Christianity since it was the only written material available. The Akudnirmiut to the southeast of Pond Inlet were nominal Anglicans and were visited by the Pond Inlet missionaries. An Anglican mission was established at Clyde River in 1961 headed by a lay reader from Pangnirtung. The Anglican missionaries at Pond Inlet were energetic evangelists and made extended trips through the country visiting Eskimo camps. Canon Turner covered 3,000 miles by dogteam in 1939 in the central Arctic travelling from Pond Inlet as far south as Repulse Bay before returning north via Spence Bay and Port Leopold. He encountered 50 Eskimos in the Cresswell Bay area and 50 at Port Leopold.¹ In 1955, Canon Whitbread made a similar journey as far as Spence Bay. In spite of the rivalry between missions, the Anglicans have maintained a virtually total adherence among the north Baffin Eskimos. R.C. missionaries have laboured at Pond Inlet for some years without winning converts. In 1960, the Oblate mission at Arctic Bay was de-activated following a long period of disuse.

Vestiges of shamanism still appear to exist on north Baffin Island and there are local superstitions which have survived despite the introduction of Christianity. In the late 1940's there was a minor eruption of religious mania in the Moffet Inlet area which was stifled by non-Eskimos. Similar conditions occurred in the Home Bay area at Kivitoo in 1929. A notorious shaman among the Pond Inlet Eskimos died of illness in 1964. In the Igloolik area, a reputed shaman died at the settlement during a measles epidemic in 1962. At Hall Beach a Repulse Bay woman has a reputation as a witch among other Eskimos.

¹

E. Turner (1950, pp.26-37) The Beaver, Outfit 250, 1950

Development of Government Responsibility in N.W.T.

- 1905 - Northwest Territories Amendment Act provided for a Council of four members to assist the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories who was also Comptroller of Finance.
- 1905-1920 - Northwest Territories administered mainly by the R.C.M.P.
- 1920 - Deputy Minister of Department of Interior appointed Commissioner of Northwest Territories.
 - Northwest Territories Act amended to provide for a Council of six members to assist Commissioner.
- 1922-1923 - "C.G.S. Arctic" goes north under direction of Department of Interior which was set up in 1922-1923, to administer resource and wildlife matters in Yukon and Northwest Territories. One of the purposes of those trips was to set up police posts, customs houses and post offices on islands in the Arctic Archipelago.
- 1923-1924 - Customs houses opened at Pond Inlet, Craig Harbour.
- 1924-1925 - Medical Officer on board "C.G.S. Arctic" reports radical changes in diet of Eskimos.
- 1926 - Arctic Islands Game Preserve (241,000 square miles) set up.
- 1928 - Steps completed to transfer control of Eskimo Affairs from Department of Indian Affairs to the Commissioner of the N.W.T., Department of the Interior.
- 1929-1930 - Pangnirtung medical station set up.
- 1935-1936 - Use of Hudson's Bay Co. ship "R.M.S. Nascope" for Eastern Arctic Patrol.
- 1936-1937 - Dept. of Mines and Resources created 1936. Bureau of N.W.T. and Yukon Affairs was part of the Lands, Parks and Forest Branch of the new department.
- 1941 - System of discs inaugurated 1941.
- 1946-1947 - "Nascope" made Eastern Arctic Patrol. X-ray equipment supplied by Dept. of National Health and Welfare, over 1,500 chest x-rays taken of people in eastern Arctic.
- 1947 - "Nascope" wrecked at Cape Dorset.
- 1948-1949 - Statement: N.W.T. Administrator (which had handled welfare previously) is responsible for welfare of all Eskimos.
 - Report on need for education.

- 1948-1949 - Dept. of Resources and Development 1949-1950 (three branches, one bureau).
 - The Development Services Branch had as one of its three subdivisions northern Administration which included Administration of the N.W.T., Yukon Territory and the eastern Arctic Patrol.
- 1950-1951 - Eastern Arctic Patrols taken over by "C.D. Howe", D.O.T. vessel.
- 1952-1953 - Permanent Committee on Eskimo Affairs, set up. Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.
- 1958-1959 - North divided into two administrative areas - Mackenzie and Arctic. Two new divisions in Arctic Administration, Industrial and Welfare responsible to the Administrator of Arctic.

Chapter III - Transportation and Communication

Transportation and communication are major problems in the high Arctic. The factors of distance and small populations have resulted in developmental lags in comparison to settlements close to Frobisher Bay, the regional center for I.A.N.D., Northern Health Services and the R.C.M.P. Despite recent improvements in transportation and communication, the settlements are considered somewhat remote in terms of administration from the regional center at Frobisher Bay.

Transportation

Transportation is restricted to air and sea transportation. Until 1965 and the establishment of Atlas Aviation at Resolute, the communities were dependent on air charter services between Frobisher and the settlements. Following the establishment of Atlas Aviation, a link was provided between weekly scheduled Nordair Flights reaching Resolute, N.W.T. and Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. In January 1967, Atlas commenced a twice-monthly service to the two communities. This is supplemented by less frequent chartered flights by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Northern Health Services as well as air patrols by the R.C.M.P. Otter based at Frobisher Bay. In general, Atlas Aviation manages to meet its commitments in terms of the number of flights per month. Aircraft are not always on time, but this is due to weather conditions which result in backlogs of work over a very large area.

Chartered flights may originate in Frobisher or Resolute depending on requirements and availability of aircraft. Medical evacuations can usually be flown to Resolute on an Atlas charter and then transferred to scheduled Nordair flights to Frobisher or Montreal. Medical emergencies may be flown directly to Frobisher Bay by Atlas planes chartered from Resolute. Attempts are made to utilize air charters in terms of maximum loads going into and out of the settlements, but poor weather or communications present difficulties in a co-ordinated flow of charter traffic.

Water transportation is strictly seasonal and it appears to be impossible to anticipate total annual requirements. These have to be supplemented by air transportation amounting to excessive costs. Examples of this have been fuel oil airlifts in mid-winter to eke out fuel oil supplies at various Arctic communities. Such an airlift was required at Pond Inlet in May 1967 when fuel oil was transported from Hall Beach, N.W.T. to Pond Inlet by Hercules aircraft. Ice strip requirements for a Hercules aircraft are an ice thickness of 5 feet 5 inches, a runway length of 5,000 feet and a runway width of 200 feet.

Eskimos travel under the sponsorship of government agencies with few exceptions. The major reasons are health and education. Two Pond Inlet Eskimos have holidayed in southern Canada, having travelled by air to Montreal. The high cost of air transportation is an inhibiting factor in extended travel from the home community. The majority of younger Eskimos have visited other

Arctic communities as way-stops in air travel to Frobisher, Churchill or other communities rather than by traditional dogteam trips.

Passenger and freight volumes between Montreal and Resolute have been dealt with in the data on Resolute in Volume II.

The following is a listing of Nordair flight schedules between Montreal and Resolute:

Flight Schedule Northward Bound

Departure Day	Tuesday	Friday
Aircraft Type	1049 H	D.C.4.
Departure Time	2359 Local Time	2300
Arrival Time	0715 Wednesday	1300 Sat.

Via Frobisher Bay and Hall Beach

Flight Schedule Southward Bound

Departure Day	Wednesday	Saturday
Aircraft Type	1049 H	D.C.4
Departure Time	0915 Local Time	1600
Arrival Time	2015	0630

Via Frobisher Bay and Hall Beach

TABLE 9 - Nordair Passenger and Express Rates

		One-Way (dollars)	Return (dollars)	Express per lb. (cents)
Montreal	Frobisher	125.00	250.00	66.5
Montreal	Hall Beach	135.00	270.00	80
Montreal	Resolute	185.00	370.00	124
Frobisher	Resolute	135.00	270.00	94

TABLE 10 - Freight Rates (lb. basis)

	under 1,000 lbs.	1,000 lbs.but less than 5,000 lbs.	5,000 lbs.but less than 10,000 lbs.	10,000 lbs.but less than 20,000 lbs.	20,000 lbs.but less than 30,000 lbs.	30,000 lbs.and over
Montreal - Frobisher	36¢	34¢	32¢	30¢	28¢	26¢
Montreal - Hall Beach	45¢	43¢	41¢	39¢	37¢	35¢
Montreal - Resolute	54¢	52¢	50¢	48¢	46¢	44¢
Frobisher - Resolute	40¢	38¢	36¢	34¢	32¢	30¢

TABLE 11 - Aircraft Rates, Frobisher Bay Region, 1967

Company	Aircraft	Per Pas.Mile	Min.Fare (dollars)	Per lb.Mile	Min.Charge (dollars)
Nordair	D-C-3	0.11	25.00	0.00025	25.00
Georgian Bay	Otter	0.15	10.00	1/8¢	5.00
Wheeler Northland	Otter	0.10	2.50	0.0005	1.00
Atlas Aviation					
Single	Otter	0.30	9.00	0.0014	4.50
Twin	Otter	0.30	7.00	0.0016	7.00

With the exception of Nordair (infrequently available) and Atlas (regularly available) at Resolute, charters originate from Frobisher Bay. At present, the only periods when D.C-3 charters are feasible at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay are during the winter and early spring when ski-equipped aircraft can be landed on the sea-ice. The rates give a total cost of .19375 cents per pound for freight shipments by D.C-3 between Frobisher and Pond Inlet. This is of course dependent on full payloads, but it is cheaper than freight and express rates by the normal roundabout routing via Nordair to Resolute and Atlas to Pond Inlet. Problems arise, however, in the accumulating of full payloads.

Transporting Equipment by Air

The transportation of bulky equipment from settlement to settlement is costly. For example the transportation of a Herman Nelson Heater, weight 400 lbs. and a transmitter, weight 500 lbs. from Arctic Bay to Pond Inlet cost \$455.70 by Otter. One box of Case Tractor parts cost \$1,105.00 in transportation costs between the two settlements.

Returning Patients

A back-up of transients at Resolute who have arrived between scheduled flights at Resolute may be transported to the home settlement by charter flight. Five passengers, their baggage and 185 pounds of freight resulted in a charter cost of \$927.22 for round-trip flight between Resolute, Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet in April 1967. Northern Health Services assumes the cost of transporting patients from the community while D.I.A.N.D. assumes the cost of returning patients. The expenses involved in air transportation are not easily overcome in isolated areas. Attempts are made to make up adequate payloads where possible to equalize the costs of charters against the use of scheduled service. In terms of time lost, a charter is frequently the most convenient method of getting personnel into and out of settlements. Organizations within the settlements co-operate in sharing charters. This is frequently feasible between Northern Health Services and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

TABLE 12 - Air Distances Between Pond Inlet and Other Settlements

From	Approximate Mileage
Pond to Resolute	360 miles

(Continued)

TABLE 12 - (continued)

From	Approximate Mileage
Pond to Arctic Bay	150 miles
Pond, Arctic Bay, Resolute	585 "
Pond, Hall Beach	264 "
Pond, Clyde, Broughton, Pangnirtung, Frobisher Bay	775 "
Pond, Frobisher Bay, direct	657 "
Arctic Bay, Resolute	225 "
Arctic Bay, Hall Beach	304 "
Arctic Bay, Hall Beach, Frobisher Bay	804 "
Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord	288 "
Arctic Bay to Grise Fiord	244 "

TABLE 13 - One-Way Passenger and Goods Rates by Scheduled Aircraft

Routes	Express (lb.) (dollars)	Cargo (lb.) (dollars)	Passenger Fare (dollars)
Resolute - Pond Inlet	1.00	.50	100.00
Resolute - Arctic Bay	.64	.32	64.00
Arctic Bay - Pond Inlet	.40	.20	40.00
Pond Inlet - Grise Fiord	.90	.45	90.00
Arctic Bay - Grise Fiord	.70	.35	70.00

Source: Atlas Aviation

Atlas Aviation maintains fuel caches at the settlements for refuelling purposes. Aviation fuel is ordered and transported to the settlements by annual sea-lift. In 1967, Atlas shipped 45 drums of fuel to Arctic Bay. The quoted hourly rates for Atlas aircraft from Resolute in 1967 were the following: Super Cub, \$50.00; Piper Apache, \$90.00; D.H. Beaver, \$100; D. H. Otter, \$150; Twin Otter, \$300.

Between January and September 1967, 20,659 pounds of revenue cargo and 27,515 pounds of mail were transported to Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Mould Bay and Grise Fiord from Resolute.

The following information is available with respect to passengers transported by Atlas between Resolute and Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay.

TABLE 14 - Passenger Traffic, 1967 (Unit Toll Revenue Passengers)

Routes	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
Resolute to Pond Inlet	-	-	3	6	10	9	19	13	31
Pond Inlet to Resolute	-	-	-	-	5	7	13	13	-
Pond Inlet to Arctic Bay	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-
Resolute to Arctic Bay	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	15	7
Arctic Bay to Resolute	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-
Arctic Bay to Pond Inlet	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-

The development of airstrips has been discussed in the chapter on settlements. In general, the airstrips at Pond Inlet are not entirely satisfactory in terms of small aircraft and totally unsatisfactory for use by large aircraft.

Water Transportation Season

The water transportation season in the high Arctic lasts from mid-August to mid-October. By early October freeze-up has commenced in Eclipse Sound and Admiralty Inlet. D.O.T. icebreakers are on active duty in the high Arctic during the shipping season to render assistance to shipping and to probe ice conditions both in established shipping lanes and elsewhere.

Ice reconnaissance patrols are carried out at regular intervals and the information is made available to ships.

Sea-lift cargo originates at Montreal, Churchill and Frobisher. Montreal is the most important port in terms of cargo for high northern communities, followed by Churchill. Frobisher Bay is merely a trans-shipment center for re-shipment of cargo originating from southern points and the normal policy is to ship direct from southern ports to northern settlements. In terms of population and settlement size, development of the high Arctic has involved large scale importation of materials while exports have been limited to furs, sealskins and small quantities of soapstone. P.O.L. requirements will continue indefinitely and will increase with increasing settlement size. Prefabricated construction materials should decline in line with maximal limits in settlement expansion. While considerable planning has been involved in initial construction programs to meet various needs of Arctic communities, as yet little planning has been undertaken in determining the realistic limits that can be set on settlement expansion.

TABLE 15 - Sea-lift Cargo, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Cargo	1965	1966
P.O.L.	544 tons	432 tons
Drummed	142 "	142 "
P.O.L.		
Rations	17 "	40 "

(Continued)

TABLE 15 - (continued)

Cargo	1965	1966
Building Materials	114 tons	422 tons
Furniture	3 "	12 "
General cargo	50 "	30 "
Equipment	15 " (Nodwell Tanker) Generators	22 "
Fresh meat		$\frac{1}{4}$ "

The large amount of building materials is evidence of the large scale construction program including the Eskimo low-cost housing program.

In 1967, 457 tons of general cargo were shipped into Pond Inlet while 1,800 tons of P.O.L. products were shipped during the same season.

TABLE 16 - Arctic Shipping, 1966

Vessel	Routing	Amount
"CGCS John A. MacDonald"	Montreal - Pond Inlet	425 lbs.
"CGCS Auk. Tanker"	Pond Inlet	734,200 "
"C.D. Howe" Resolute	Grise Fiord	235 "
Pond Inlet - Pagnirtung		30 "
Pond Inlet - Resolute		175 "
Pond Inlet - Arctic Bay		5,000 "
Grise Fiord - Frobisher Bay		1,000 "
Arctic Bay - Quebec		33,000 "
Grise Fiord - Quebec		33,715 "
"CGCS John A. MacDonald"		
Quebec - Resolute		100,000 "
Pond Inlet - Grise Fiord		270,440 "
Resolute Bay - Grise Fiord		970 "
Grise Fiord - Pond		7,020 "
Eureka - Resolute		2,308 "
Resolute Bay - Eureka		65,617 "
Montreal to Resolute		46,477 "

(Continued)

TABLE 16 - (continued)

Vessel	Routing	Amount
"SS Cabahawk"		
Montreal to Resolute		3,214,493 lbs
Quebec - Resolute		118,629 "
Montreal - Pond Inlet		1,081,977 "
Montreal - Arctic Bay		1,563,568 "
Montreal - Grise Fiord		270,000 "
Resolute - Montreal		218,134 "
Resolute - Quebec		1,300 "
Pond Inlet - Montreal		32,550 "
Arctic Bay - Montreal		6,960 "
"M.V.J. Simard"		
Montreal - Pond Inlet		864,000 "
"M.V.S.J. Crosbie"		
Montreal - Pond Inlet		365,696 "
"M.V. Fort Severn"		
Various Ports		300,272 "
"M.V. Pierre Radisson"		148,291 "
"M.V. Rupert River"		212,044 "
"M.V. Churchill River"		69,510 "
		730,177

Ship Schedules, 1967

"C.D. Howe" (Medical Ship) Pond Inlet, 16 Aug., Navy Bd.
Inlet, 18 Aug. 18 Aug. Arctic
Bay, 18 Aug. 21 Aug.

"J.A. MacDonald" (Icebreaker) Milne Inlet, 17 July, Aug. 5

"D'Iberville" (Icebreaker) Milne Inlet, Sept. 26

"Labrador" (Icebreaker) Lancaster Sound, 6 Sept.
10 Sept.

The "J.A. MacDonald" and "D'Iberville" were continuing a program of ice research and research into the feasibility of shipping iron ore from the Mary River Deposit by way of Milne Inlet.

The Hudson's Bay Company sea-lift was scheduled to arrived in the latter part of September.

The estimated annual fuel oil consumption rate at Pond Inlet in 1967 was in excess of 220,000 gallons.

TABLE 17 - Cargo Transported by D.O.T. Vessels

Freight X-Montreal	1967 (in pounds)	
	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
Prefabricated buildings	196,060	180,015
Lumber and plywood	104,570	152,571
General cargo	126,635	143,819
Rations	8,040	18,140
Vehicles	19,220	2,640
Drummed P.O.L.	75,586	1,403,199
Industrial gas	165	2,020
Freight X-Churchill	21,500 (bulk diesel and fuel oil in pounds)	
Freight X-Montreal	1966 (in tons)	
	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
Prefabricated buildings	266.66	152.88
General cargo	98.77	149.18
Vehicles	16.50	7.50
Drummed P.O.L.	149.63	241.95
Rations [Ⓜ]		
Industrial gas	.60	.72
Freezer products	.40	.95
Freight X-Churchill	16.5 (bulk diesel and fuel oil) tons	

[Ⓜ] Rations in 1966 included in general cargo

TABLE 18 - Rates for NSV or D.O.T. (fully chartered vessels)

	Pond (dollars)	Arctic Bay
X-Montreal	120.00 (per ton)	120.00
X-Churchill	120.00	120.00
Hudson's Bay Co. vessels		
X-Montreal	90.00	105.00
X-Churchill	90.00	105.00

The following is a listing of cargo amounts shipped into Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in Hudson's Bay Company vessels from Montreal and Churchill:

TABLE 19 - Cargo, Tonnages, 1966 and 1967

1966 (Cargo in Tons)			
	Montreal Dry Cargo	Churchill	
		Gasoline	Heating Oil
Pond Inlet	53	11	Nil
Arctic Bay	41	11	20
1967 (Cargo in Tons)			
	Montreal Dry Cargo	Gasoline	Heating Oil
Pond Inlet	88	28	Nil
Arctic Bay	42	16	30

Freight rates from Montreal have changed from 1946 when the rates were (Fort Ross \$175/T), Moffet Inlet (\$175/T) Arctic Bay (120/T) Dundas Harbor (\$120/T) and Pond Inlet (\$105/T).

The increase in gasoline shipments arises out of increasing numbers of ski-doo's owned by Eskimos. In June 1967, the Hudson's Bay Company manager at Arctic Bay was forced by increased gasoline sales to obtain gasoline from Strathcona Sound. Similarly, the Hudson's Bay Company manager at Pond Inlet borrowed twenty drums of gasoline from D.I.A.N.D. in July 1967. By March 1968, the Hudson's Bay Company manager at Pond Inlet was purchasing gasoline from Baffin Land Iron Mines stock in Milne Inlet.

Point to Point Shipping

The following are point to point shipping rates in the high Arctic on D.O.T. vessels: Pond to Clyde, (\$35.00 per ton); Pond to Resolute, (\$35.00 per ton);

Pond to Frobisher, (\$35.00 per ton); Arctic Bay to Resolute, (\$35.00 per ton).

The major reason for point-to-point shipping is the transference of imported materials from one settlement to another to meet construction or supply shortages. Minor shipments of soapstone have been made from Pond Inlet to Frobisher Bay.

TABLE 20 - Summary of D.O.T. Shipping Received
by Agencies, Arctic Bay, 1967*

Aviation Company	75 drums Aviation
N.H.W.	615 lbs. (dispensary supplies)
H.B.C.	68 tons
D.I.A.N.D.	863.3 tons

*Source: D.O.T.

There are certain factors in water transportation which are not easily overcome. Construction programs have been hampered through shipping errors which cannot be remedied by costly air shipments. The handling and transportation of prefabricated materials has been expensive in terms of breakage. The major problem is of course in one-way traffic except for minor amounts of returnable items or personal effects of government employees.

Role of the C.D. Howe

The "C.D. Howe" as a medical ship, has rapidly become obsolete in terms of meeting northern health needs. This is due to the development of air transportation and health facilities in the north. While camps were in existence in some numbers and nursing stations were lacking, at the settlement the "C.D. Howe" played an important role in terms of meeting health needs and performing administrative functions. The present policy is to transport medical evacuations from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay to Resolute Bay where they can be evacuated to Frobisher Bay or Montreal by plane. In administrative terms, there is a tie-up of regional and headquarters personnel over an extended boat trip for purposes which could be accomplished by telephone, telegram and trips by aircraft. Alternatives to the "C.D. Howe" are D.C-3 trips carrying medical personnel (doctors, dentists and x-ray personnel). This has already been accomplished through x-ray surveys carried out in the spring. D.C-3 trips have to be carried out in the spring while ice conditions are good. This coincides with optimal flying conditions.

Equipment Charter Rates, Pond Inlet Area, 1967

The following equipment charter rates were in effect at Pond Inlet in 1967: longliner, (\$85.00 a day plus fuel); whaleboat, (\$40.00-\$50.00 a day plus fuel); canoe, (\$20.00-\$25.00 a day); dogteam, (\$15.00 a day with charterer to supply rations); ski-doo, (\$15.00 a day with charterer supplying gas).

In the Pond Inlet area, charter arrangements usually result in the charterer supplying rations for himself and for the person from whom he is chartering equipment. The charterer is frequently faced with delays during the open-water season due to drift ice. The opportunities for equipment owners to

obtain income from this source are limited.

Communications

In 1965, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were connected to a radio telephone circuit established by the Bell Telephone Company linking northern settlements and providing connection with southern centers. This has facilitated administration and communication between the regional center of Frobisher Bay and northern communities. Commercial radio traffic is handled by the Hudson's Bay Company at both settlements. The R.C.M.P. and the Roman Catholic Mission operate radios at Pond Inlet and Eskimos are permitted to transmit messages free of charge between settlements through these systems.

Inter-settlement Communications

Local telephone systems connect organizations and agencies in the settlements. In Pond Inlet, a number of Eskimos have telephones.

TABLE 21 - Telephone Rates

Telephone Rates	Ottawa to Resolute (dollars)	Ottawa to Arctic Bay (dollars)	Ottawa to Pond Inlet (dollars)
Day time person to person 3 minutes	5.70	5.70	5.70
Station to station 3 minutes	3.15	3.15	3.15
Night 3 minutes	2.10	2.10	2.10
Economy 10 min. after 8 p.m.	5.50	5.50	4.50

TABLE 22 - Parcel Post Rates, March 1968

Pond Inlet	80 cents a lb.	Igloolik	80 cents a lb.
Resolute	80 " "	Hall Beach	65 " "
Arctic Bay	80 " "	Clyde River	45 " "
Grise Fiord	80 " "		

TABLE 23 - Radio Frequency and Call Sign, Pond Inlet, N.W.T.

Hudson's Bay Co.	48355 x KB35 4837 x KB35
Oblate Mission	3420 CJS277, 4625 CJS277
R.C.M.P.	4783.5 x JD33 7778.5 x JD33 4786.5 x JD33 7781.5 x JD33 4835.5 x JD33 4838.5 x JD33 5681.4 x JD33
Arctic Bay, N.W.T. Hudson's Bay Co.	4835.5 x KA87

The Hudson's Bay Company handles commercial traffic in both communities. Rates are \$1.50 for the first fifty words and twenty-five cents for each additional ten words.

Chapter IV - Population

Various estimates are available for the Eskimo population of the Pond Inlet area since the early 1900's. Historical data is not available to indicate population changes due to immigration and emigration. Due to the relative isolation, following the cessation of whaling, the Eskimo population was not exposed to large scale epidemics experienced elsewhere in more accessible parts of the north.¹ There were, of course, population controls exerted by the severity of the environment and unanticipated catastrophes or accidents. Infant mortality was high. Increasingly, the Eskimos turned to the R.C.M.P. for medical assistance. The employment of special constables by the R.C.M.P. and frequent patrols kept them in touch with conditions. The establishment of trading posts tended to be stabilizing factors, in respect to population movements, and increased the proficiency of Eskimo populations in harvesting resources. The introduction of firearms had a detrimental effect on caribou and walrus through overkill.

Mathiassen (Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos, 1928, p.20) states that in 1900 the number of Iglulik Eskimos was estimated to be about 378 persons in all, of which 138 were Aivilingmiut, 60 Iglulingmiut, and 180 Tununirmiut (including Tununirusirmiut of Admiralty Inlet).

The total number of Iglulik Eskimos in 1922 was reported to be 504; of which 165 were Aivilingmiut, 146 Iglulingmiut, and 193 Tununirmiut (Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay). The Tununirmiut consisted of 44 family units, one single male and 4 widows. Of this group, five family units were in the Admiralty Inlet area. Four family units at Manertok in the Steensby Inlet area of northern Foxe Basin had recently moved down from Eclipse Sound.

In 1930, the census revealed a total of 170 people for north Baffin Island, with the following distribution: Pond Inlet 35; Milne Inlet 35; Admiralty Inlet 100.

Two hundred and twenty-five people were listed as being resident on Melville Peninsula with the following distribution: northeast side of Melville Peninsula 100; southeast extremity of Melville Peninsula 85; Repulse Bay 70.

It appears likely that some scattered individuals were missed during the course of this census.

Population Distribution, 1939

In 1939, R.C.M.P. sled patrols from Pond Inlet revealed the following population distribution:

¹

Note: R.C.M.P. reports for the 1920's-1930's indicate that common colds and outbreaks of flu were major health problems. Pneumonia and tuberculosis were serious problems due to poor housing.

TABLE 24 - Eskimo Population Distribution, 1939

Pond Inlet	Location	Number of Family Units	Total Population
Uyarashugjueet	S. Bylot Island	3	17
	Navy Board Inlet	5	17
	Navy Board Inlet	6	30
Seenaskolik	Elwin Bay	4	17
Avartok	Strathcona Sound	4	17
Arctic Bay Area			
Arctic Bay		2	10
Moffet Inlet		2	10
Egalulutit	Moffet Inlet	1	5
Evalak's Camp		4	19
Kublook's Camp	Jungerson Bay	1	4
Emil's Camp	Berlinguet Inlet	5	19
Igloolik Area			
Kikerta	Foxe Basin	1	5
Igloolik	Foxe Basin (Igloolik Island)	14	61
Seara (Siorak)	Island between Igloolik and Jen Munk	5	20
Kapueevick	Jens Munk Island	7	28
Niglviktoo	Jens Munk Island	10	38
Iglorjuie	Cape Thalbitzer	1	5
Qarmat	N. of Parry Bay	9	39
Teakerat	Neck of Amitoke Peninsula	6	27
Total		101	432

Note: Considerable variation occurs in regard to the spelling of Eskimo place names and R.C.M.P. reports are no exception.

TABLE 25 - Eskimo Population, Buchan Gulf Area, 1939

Camp	Location	Family Units	Population
Kookjuook	Coutts Inlet	3	13
Newlatoo	Coutts Inlet	3	14
Scott Inlet	Camp 1	2	8
	Camp 2	2	7
Eglinton Fd.	Camp 1	2	14
	Camp 2	2	10
Total		14	66

The 1941 census listed 175 Eskimos in the zone between Cape Adair and Cape Charles Yorke, while there were 156 Eskimos living in the Admiralty Inlet area. Some Iglulik Eskimos and Akudnirmiut Eskimos were included in these population figures. Similarly, there were Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Eskimos resident in the Igloolik area. There were also Arctic Bay Eskimos, as well as Cape Dorset Eskimos on Somerset Island and Boothia Peninsula trading into Fort Ross, which opened in 1937. There was a reported influx of Spence Bay Eskimos northward. The Spence Bay Eskimos occasionally wintered on Somerset Island as well as Prince of Wales Island.

TABLE 26 - Eskimo Population Distribution, Winter, 1942

Camp	Location	Family Units	Population
Ooyaraksukjueet	S. Bylot Coast	5	21
Qarmardjuut	West side Navy Board Inlet	9	41
Angmalee	Bluff Head, Adams Island	1	4
<u>Arctic Bay</u>			
Settlement		5	17
Tikeetawkut	Just south of entrance to Adams Sound	3	14
Amaquakjuk	Moffet Inlet	2	10
Eepikitajuk	Moffet Inlet	2	10
<u>Igloolik Area</u>			
Eeloojua	Steensby Peninsula	4	22
Tikerajoo	Steensby Peninsula	8	33
Agu	Agu Bay	4	17
Alvaja (Abajan)	West of Igloolik Island	12	49

(Continued)

TABLE 26 - (continued)

Camp	Location	Family Units	Population
Igloolik	Igloolik Island	2	6
Oongalooya	Igloolik Island	4	17
Siora Seara (Siorak Island)	Small island between Igloolik and Jens Munk	3	11
Alanarjuk	South Igloolik Island	5	16
Ooglit (Uglit)	North Ooglit Islands	3	15
Acoonee (Akunirq)	Foster Bay, Melville Peninsula	2	8
Alagnajoo (Alanarjuk)	Garry Bay, Melville Peninsula Camp 1	2	13
	Camp 2	2	8
Sattot	South coast Jens Munk Island	3	10
Nidleiviktoo (Nigliviktuk)	Jens Munk Island	4	14
Piling	East of Longstaff Bluff, Piling	5	16

There were 172 people in the Arctic Bay area and 353 in the Igloolik area. A patrol in the same year to Clyde River revealed the following distribution:

TABLE 27 - Population in Camps Between Pond
and Clyde, Winter, 1942

Camp	Location	Family Units	Population
Button Point	East Bylot	9	46
Anaulering Fd.	Buchan Gulf area	3	18
Eric Point	Eric Point	4	17
Clyde River Post	Clyde	19	97

The large population recorded for Clyde River was the result of spring trading activities.

The camps in the southern part of Admiralty Inlet had experienced a poor winter. Elsewhere the group at Piling was found to be in a starving condition, the caribou having moved away and seals being scarce. Sixteen people were living in this camp.

TABLE 28 - Population, Pond Inlet Area, 1951

Camp	Location	Total Population
Ipiarjuk	Guy's Bight	26
Sanerut (Sanerun)	Button Point	19
Igadjuak (Igarjuaq)	Beloeil Island area	10
Aulatsivik	Curry Island	24
Koluktook	Koluktoo Bay	17
Sartok	West side of Eclipse Sound	4
Sartok	Milne Inlet Tremblay Sound Area	5
Nadlua	Low Point	17
Nunasiaq	Navy Board Inlet	14
Post Residence	Pond Inlet	46
Total		182

In the period between 1951 and 1961, the camp locations remained relatively stable. There were minor changes. The lower part of Milne Inlet and the Koluktoo Bay area were abandoned in favour of Qaornak. Available information indicates there were no large scale movements from the area although some families moved to Resolute and Grise Fiord, when these settlements were established with Port Harrison and Pond Inlet Eskimos.

TABLE 29 - Distribution of Eskimo Population, Pond Inlet Area (according to the 1956 census)

Location	Population	Location	Population
Pond Inlet	40	Curry Island	21
Guy's Bight	30	Low Point	10
Eclipse Sound	23	Tay Bay	16
Albert Harbour	33	Tay Sound	20
Total			211

The 1956 census revealed that the Pond Inlet Eskimo population distribution was similar to that of 1943 and 1951 with minor changes in the location of camps. The Buchan Gulf and Coutts Inlet area had been largely abandoned by both Tununirmiut and Akudnirmiut Eskimos, although some of the Tununirmiut from the Pond Inlet, Eclipse Sound area hunted and trapped sporadically in these areas.

Population Distribution, Summer, 1958

The population for Pond Inlet in August, 1958, totalled 170, with 2 children attending Chesterfield Inlet school, and 17 people in hospital.

There were eleven families in the settlement or 19.62 per cent of the total Eskimo population based in the settlement. The remaining population was distributed in camps.

TABLE 30 - Camp Population, Summer, 1958

Camp	Location	Family Units	Population
Nunasiaq	West side Navy Board Inlet	5	22
Nadlua	Five miles south of Navy Board Inlet and Low Point	6	32
Qaornak	Alfred Point, Eclipse Sound	4	19
Satoot	Tremblay Sound at Alfa River, west of Alfred Point thirty miles	2	14
Aulatsivik	Curry Island, Eclipse Sound	2	21
Qimmivik	Emmerson Island, Tay Sound	-	17
Igarjuak	Albert Harbour, eight miles east of Pond Inlet	6	32
Ipiarjuk	Guy's Bight, 30 miles east of Pond Inlet	8	35

TABLE 31 - Size of Family Units, Pond Inlet Area, 1958

Family Unit Size	No. of Families	Family Unit Size	No. of Families
2	7	6	7
3	3	7	10
4	9	8	2
5	9	9	3
		10	1
Total			51

Of the fifty-one family units, eleven were based in the Pond Inlet settlement. The heads of two family units were employed by the R.C.M.P., while another family head was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. There were seventeen individuals in hospital and two children of an Iglulik immigrant attending school in Chesterfield Inlet. There were two family units headed by widows and one by a widower. The remaining forty family units were distributed in camps in the Pond Inlet Eclipse Sound and Navy Inlet areas. The Buchan Gulf area was unoccupied, in terms of winter camps,

although hunting trips were being carried on in that area in the spring for caribou and bear hunting, with seal hunting being carried out to provide dog food.

In 1961, there were 50 family units in the Pond Inlet area. In addition, one aged male and two aged females were without dependents.

TABLE 32 - Family Units, Pond Inlet Area, 1961

Size of Family Units	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Number of Families	5	11	6	11	9	3	2	1	

Comparative statistics are available for 1963 showing the Eskimo population in various regions. In 1963, population distribution was as follows: Pond Inlet (269); Arctic Bay, (183); Igloolik, (485); Clyde, (224); Resolute, (114); Grise Fiord, (72).

The following population figures are included for comparative purposes. The largest population was recorded for the Igloolik area, followed by Pond Inlet and Clyde River.

TABLE 33 - Eskimo Population, 1965

Location	Number of Family Units	Total	Location	Number of Family Units	Total
Pond Inlet	65	291	Clyde River	44	238
Arctic Bay	44	189	Igloolik	100	475
			Grise Fiord	11	51

The figures were based on a housing survey conducted by the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. Population figures were derived from R.C.M.P. disc lists.

TABLE 34 - Population Age Groups, Pond Inlet, 1965

Age Group	Number	Per Centage	Age Group	Number	Per Centage
0-14	148	50.8	15-64	139	47.8
			65 plus	4	1.4
Total Population				291	100.0

The bulk of the population could be classed in the young age group with 186 persons or 69.1 per cent of the total population in the 0-21 age group.

TABLE 35 - Size and Number of Family Units

Size of Family Units	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
No. of Persons	8	6	9	10	10	12	5	1	2	1	1
No. of Family Units	65										

TABLE 36 - Population by Age Groups, 1965
(other settlement areas)

	Ages 0-21 incl. Persons	Per Centage	Ages 0-14 incl. Persons	Per Centage	Ages 15-64 incl. Persons	Per Centage	Ages 65 - Persons	Per Centage
Artic Bay	115	60.9	86	46.0	100	52.4	3	1.6
Clyde River	163	68.0	124	52.1	114	47.9	0	0
Igloolik	305	62.9	223	47.2	245	51.9	4	0.9
Grise Fiord	34	63.0	31	60.8	20	39.2	0	0

Immigration and Emigration into the Pond Inlet Area

In recent years, there has been only a small-scale movement of Eskimos into the Pond Inlet area. At best, it is often difficult to distinguish immigrants on the basis of point of origin alone, since family units were mobile until recent years.

There are a few representatives of the Akudnirmiut and Iglulik Eskimos in the existing Pond Inlet area population. There are four adult women of Iglulik origin, three of whom are married to Pond Inlet Eskimos. There are four adult women of the Akudnirmiut group married to Pond Inlet men. With two exceptions, these are women of the middle age to older age groups. One young Pond Inlet couple is presently in Igloolik visiting the wife's mother. A man and wife from Arctic Bay resettled in Pond Inlet in 1966 after wandering about the Admiralty Inlet and Igloolik country. The man was born at Button Point, of Pond Inlet Eskimos, while the woman was born of Pond Inlet Eskimos living in the Admiralty Inlet area, and raised there. They were recently joined by a son of the wife by a previous marriage who came to Pond Inlet in search of a wife in May 1967. A young man and his wife moved to Pond Inlet from Igloolik in June 1966 to join his widowed mother and step-brother, who settled in Pond Inlet from Nunasiaq in 1962. A couple moved from Avartok in Strathcona Sound to visit the ailing mother of the wife living at Kuktujuk north of Pond Inlet in 1967. The extended family group living at Ipiarjuk who moved there in 1946 from Buchan Gulf are considered by many Pond Inlet residents, to be Akudnirmiut.

Clyde and Clyde River are synonymous in this report

In contrast to immigration, the reason for emigration in recent years has been, by and large, economic with relocation to areas beyond the normal resource utilization zone, chiefly Resolute and Grise Fiord. Two family units and a single male moved to Igloolik in 1959 to establish an Anglican Church. One Eskimo family unit went to Arctic Bay in 1965 to operate the Anglican mission.

TABLE 37 - Random Sampling of Birthplace of Adults
in Pond Inlet Area, 1967

Age of Husband	Birthplace	Age of Wife	Birthplace
37	Pond Inlet	37	Button Point
49	Cambridge Fiord	49	Navy Board Inlet
32	Pond Inlet	27	Aulatsivik
49	Igarjuaq	49	Admiralty Inlet
19	Pond Inlet	17	Clyde area
59	Pond Inlet	57	Irkalui, Tay Sound
38	Aulatsivik	38	Clyde River area
31	Igloolik	20	Pond Inlet
27	Button Point	39	S.W. Coast Bylot Island
27	Aulatsivik		Nadlua
37	Sanaria (Hall Beach)	37	Igloolik
36	Piling	35	Repulse Bay
26	Aulatsivik	23	Qaornak
29	Angmat Tay Sound	29	Clyde area
26	Tugat, Milne Inlet	20	Agu, Fury & Hecla Strait
24	Igarjuaq	22	Pond Inlet
34	Igloolik	21	Qaornak
23	Igloolik	23	Nadlua
30	Pond Inlet	31	Pond Inlet
24	Igloolik area	22	Qimmivik
38	Igloolik area	38	Cambridge Fiord
34	Igloolik area	34	Cambridge Fiord
38	Tay Sound	36	Dundas Harbour

(Continued)

TABLE 37 - (continued)

Age of Husband	Birthplace	Age of Wife	Birthplace
58	Pond Inlet	34	Pond Inlet
43	Clyde area	24	Buchan Gulf
34	Clyde area	30	
75	Piling	-	
37	Orksoktoo Gjoa Haven	34	Pond Inlet
29	Igloolik	-	Chesterfield Inlet
37	Pond Inlet	37	Pond Inlet
33	Admiralty Inlet area	30	Igloolik
23	Agu		
53	Iqarjuaq	60	Clyde area
26	Qimmivik	20	Pond Inlet
-	-	75	Igarjuak
32	Aulatsivik	31	Pond Inlet
37	Buchan Gulf	34	Buchan Gulf
73	Buchan Gulf	34	Buchan Gulf
28	Tulukan	26	Pond Inlet
26	Igarjuaq	25	Manertok, Koch Island
49	Arctic Bay	49	Button Point
40	Somerset Island	-	
55	Igloolik	39	Pond Inlet area
49	Nauyagaloo	66	Clyde River area
45	Igarjuaq	40	Bellot Strait area

Movement of Eskimos to Resolute and Grise Fiord, 1960's

The movement of Eskimos to the Resolute and Grise Fiord areas during the late 1950's and early 1960 was due to a number of factors.

1. The Craig Harbour area on south Ellesmere was known to Eskimos from Pond Inlet, who had served as special constables for the R.C.M.P., to be a good sea mammal area (walrus, seals, polar bear). There were also some caribou.
2. Poor individual fox takes during the 1950's in the Pond Inlet area

resulted in only low incomes being available to the Pond Inlet trappers. Some felt the area was being trapped out.

3. Hunts had been made by Pond Inlet Eskimos into the Somerset Island and north Lancaster Sound areas (Bathurst, Cornwallis and Devon Islands), and the zone was known to be a good hunting area by older Eskimos.

Pond Inlet Eskimos were distributed elsewhere in the following manner: Resolute (six family units, one widow); Grise Fiord (4 family units); Igloolik (seven family units, one widower); Frobisher Bay (three family units); Montreal (one married female); Arctic Bay (two family units, one widow); Vancouver (one married female).

Relationships of the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Eskimos

In recent years there has been a decline in communication between the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Eskimos, arising out of the establishment of the trading post, and in more recent years the growth of the settlement itself. A number of Pond Inlet Eskimos have lived, or travelled, in the Arctic Bay area. As late as the 1940's Pond Inlet Eskimos were hunting beyond Arctic Bay on the northeast coast of Somerset Island.

Some overlapping of resource utilization occurs on a small scale at the head of Borden Peninsula, where Arctic Bay trappers trap and bear hunt to the mouth of Navy Board Inlet and a Nadlua Trapper goes to Cape Charles Yorke. This zone is utilized primarily as a trapping and bear hunting zone. The necessity of finding suitable wives also results in some exchange. In 1967, two young men arrived from Arctic Bay in the Pond Inlet area in search of brides, while a former Pond Inlet man, now resident in Resolute, travelled first to Pond Inlet in search of a bride, and when this failed, acquired a spouse in Arctic Bay.

A former Clyde River man, married to an Arctic Bay woman, located in 1965 in the Pond area, after a long sojourn in the Arctic Bay and Igloolik area.

There is more direct radio communication between Pond Inlet and Igloolik since the Eskimos use the R.C.M.P. and mission radios to exchange information. Individuals and family groups still make trips between Igloolik and Pond Inlet, but there is a tendency to make short trips rather than extended ones. Economic factors are at play. The Eskimos who travel must accept a delay in receiving family allowance cheques, and often have some difficulty in picking up casual employment in settlements which have an abundance of casual labourers.

There is also one unit consisting of the step-son of a Pond Inlet man married to a Clyde River woman. This unit settled into Igloolik country some years ago and is presently based at Ignirtuq in the Parry Bay area of Melville Peninsula. They relocated at Hall Beach in 1968

TABLE 38 - Random Sampling Indicating Mobility of North Baffin Eskimos

Areas Lived In							
Sex	Age	Pond Inlet Area	Buchan Gulf Area	Clyde Area	Admiralty Inlet Area	Igloodlik Area	Others
Female	52	x(b)	x	-	-	x	Craig Harbour (R.C.M.P.)
Female	57	x	-	-	x(b)	-	
Male	26	x(b)	-	-	-	-	Alexandria Fd. (R.C.M.P.)
Male	46	x(b)	x	x	-	-	Craig H., Alexandria Fd. (R.C.M.P.)
Male	19	x(b)	-	x	-	-	Alexandria Fiord (R.C.M.P.)
Male	23	x	x	-	-	x(b)	
Male	30	x(b)	-	-	-	-	Resolute
Male	27	x(b)	-	-	-	-	
Male	36	x	-	-	-	x(b)	
Male	34	x	-	-	x	x(b)	Churchill, Rankin, Repulse Bay
Male	28	x(b)	x	-	-	-	
Male	26	x(b)	x	-	-	-	
Male	34	x	-	-	-	x	
Male	32	x(b)	-	-	x	x	
Male	58	x(b)	x	-	x	x	Spence Bay (R.C.M.P.)
Female	75	x(b)	x	x	x	-	
Male	32	x(b)	-	-	-	-	
Male	28	x	-	-	x(b)	-	

(b) indicates birthplace

TABLE 39 - Random Sampling to Show Mobility in Terms
of Camps in the Pond Inlet Area

Sex	M	F	F	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M
Age	19	52	57	26	46	23	30	27	36	34	28	32	58	32	75
Pond Settlement	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
Ivisat	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iglukisat	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kuktujuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
Igarjuak	-	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x
Ipiarjuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-
Kurujuok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Qimmivik	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-
Aulatsivik	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-
Tunit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-
Irkaluiit	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x
Angmat	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Qaornak	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
Tugat	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
Unarqortujuag	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nadlua	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Qarmarjuit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tulukan	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
Anowlerik	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	x
Nunasiaq	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Kangooksooloo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kingardjuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Uyarshujueet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Sanerut (Sanerun)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-

TABLE 40 - Births, Pond Inlet, 1947 to 1956

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
1947	5	8	1957	4	10
1948	3	4	1958	3	5
1949	8	6	1959	5	4
1950	7	3	1960	5	8
1951	10	11	1961	3	5
1952	7	3	1962	6	5
1953	11	9	1963	4	7
1954	9	5	1964	5	4
1955	8	8	1965	5	11
1956	10	9	1966	6	2

Seven stillbirths were recorded from 1961 to 1966.

Until the early 1960's the majority of births occurred in camps. There is no evidence to indicate cyclical or seasonal variation in births.

Deaths, Pond Inlet Area

The following statistics are available in respect to deaths in the Pond Inlet area. They show the wide range of cause of deaths and high infant mortality rates.

TABLE 41 - Recorded Deaths, Pond Inlet Area, 1946 to 1966

Year		- 1 yr.	1-14	15-64	65+
1946-1966	Male	29	5	14	6
	Female	30	10	12	5

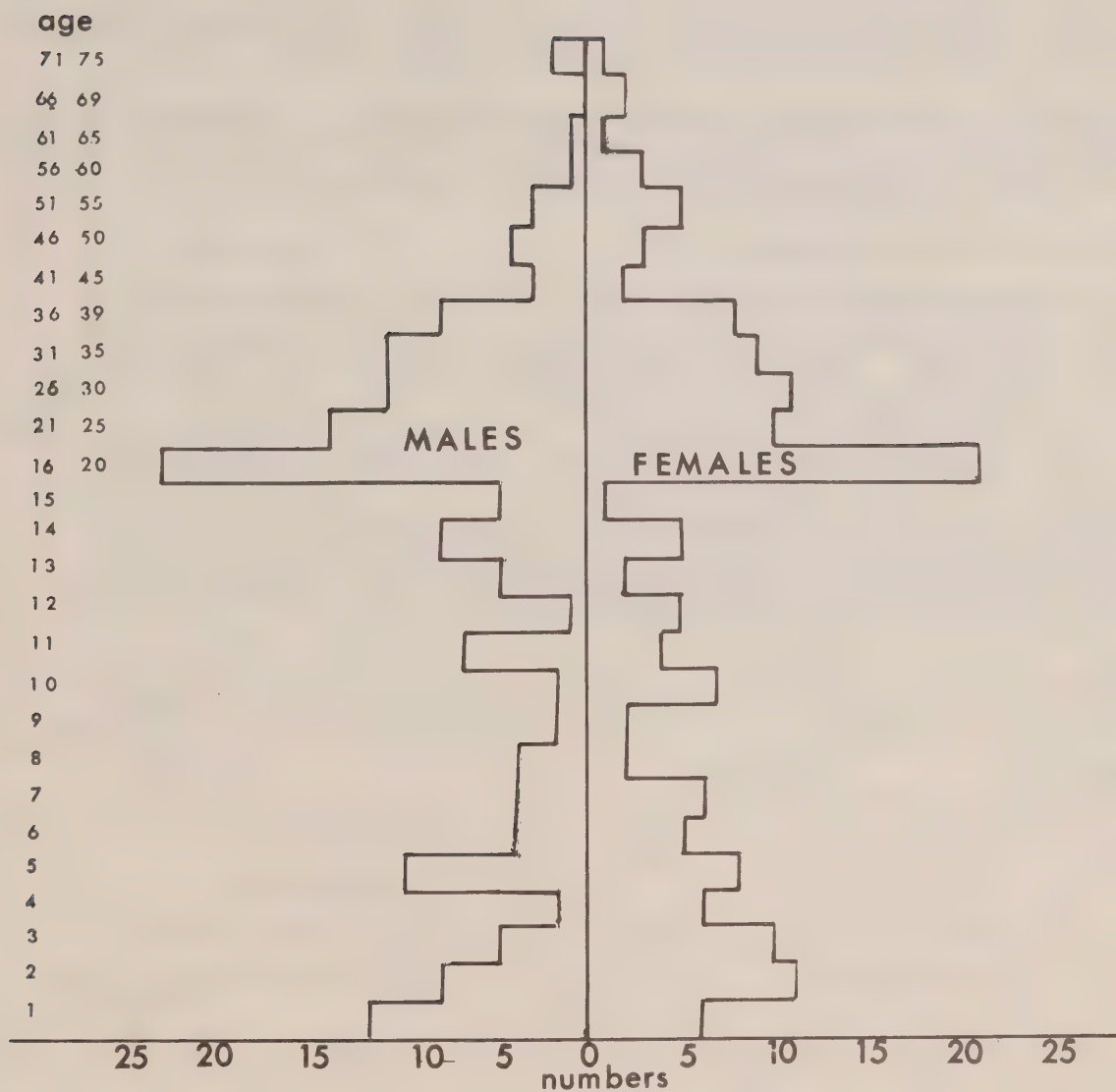
As can be seen from the statistics listed above, the greatest number of deaths occurred in the 0-1 year grouping. In addition, these were eight stillbirths recorded (four females and four males) during the period. Pneumonia was listed as the cause of fifteen deaths, and nine through tuberculosis or suspected tuberculosis. A wide variety of causes were listed in respect to the remaining deaths. Among the causes listed were bad colds 11, exposure 3, deaths by accidental shooting 2, old age 2, attack by sled dogs 2.

Marriages, Pond Inlet

Sixty marriages were recorded in the period between May 18, 1946 and March 27, 1967.

The custom of trial marriage has died away in the Pond Inlet area through the influence of missionaries and police. The last trial marriage was reported to have occurred in 1963. Promised marriages are also no longer a

FIGURE 16 - Age Group and Sex Distribution, Pond Inlet
Area Eskimo Population, 1966



prominent feature of Pond Inlet Eskimo marriage customs. Illegitimacy bears little stigma. There is one Eskimo white infant in the community who has been adopted by an Eskimo family, and is shown every affection. An Eskimo white teenager is showing signs of becoming a capable hunter and trapper.

Adoptions

In recent years, formalization of adoptions has progressed in the area. In both the Pond Inlet area and the Arctic Bay area there are a few instances of adopted children occupying a role of servant rather than a simple adoptive. This usually occurs in cases where older persons have adopted children.

In general, parents are permissive towards children. Teenagers are under no pressure to work or hunt and thus contribute to the household economy, with the result that some teenagers loiter in the settlements.

Arctic Bay and Admiralty Inlet

The existing population of the Arctic Bay and Admiralty Inlet area is composed of Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet Eskimos, Cape Dorset, Igloolik, and Pangnirtung Eskimos. The Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung Eskimos are settlers under the original sponsorship of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1936. Dundas Harbour was closed down on Devon Island. As a result of inter-marriage with local families, and the passage of time, the Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung Eskimos manifest little interest in returning to their original settlements, although they are aware of existing kinship relationships, and there is intermittent communication with relatives in Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung. The older Arctic Bay people have travelled extensively by dogteam and have affiliations in the Igloolik area and Pond Inlet area.

TABLE 42 - Random Sampling of the Birthplace of Arctic Bay Eskimos

Husband	Age	Birthplace	Wife	Birthplace
X	52	Moffet Inlet	X	Igloolik
X	59	Pond Inlet	X	Hamilton Bay
X	29	Elwin Bay	X	Strathcona Sound
X	59	Cape Dorset	X	Craig Harbour, Ellesmere Island
X	59	Digges Island, Quebec	X	Melville Peninsula
X	29	Admiralty Inlet	X	Eglinton Fiord, Clyde area
X	29	Igloolik	X	Pond Inlet
X	40	Pangnirtung	X	Pangnirtung
X	29	Cape Dorset	X	Igloolik
X	49	Berlinguet Inlet	X	Berlinguet Inlet

(Continued)

TABLE 42 - (continued)

Husband	Age	Birthplace	Wife	Birthplace
X	30	Admiralty Inlet	X	Agu Bay
X	41	Clyde River	X	Melville Peninsula
X	49	Pangnirtung	X	Melville Peninsula
X	21	McBean Bay, Brodeur Peninsula	X	Admiralty Inlet
X	30	Agu Bay, Fury and Hecla Strait	X	Arctic Bay
X	59	Pangnirtung	X	Pangnirtung
X	55	Toonalook	X	Pangnirtung
X	64	Pond Inlet	X	Arctic Bay area
X	40	Igloolik	X	Igloolik area
X	37	Igloolik	X	Admiralty Inlet
X	24	Admiralty Inlet	X	Somerset Island

The location of birth of middle-aged and older Eskimos presently in the Admiralty Inlet area indicates the varied location of origin of the Arctic Bay Eskimos. The Pangnirtungmiuts were immigrants under the sponsorship of the Hudson's Bay Company. Those Igloolik, Tununirmiut and Akudnirmiut Eskimos indicate Eskimo mobility, rather than induced or sponsored immigration. In a rather harsh environment any affinities have tended to become obscure. The Pangnirtungmiuts and Cape Dorset Eskimos maintain thin connections with their place of origin.

TABLE 43 - Distribution of Population, Admiralty Inlet Area, 1956 and 1963

1956		1963	
Arctic Bay	28	Arctic Bay	48
Avartok	18	Arctic Bay Point	9
Strathcona Sound	15	Strathcona Sound	49
Easter Sound	28	Kurakashak Island	50
Iglorsuit	17	Iglorsuit	18
Bernier Bay	27	Fish Lake	6
Total Population	132	Total Population	195

A total of 30 persons were living at Agu Bay, a mixed camp of Arctic Bay and Igloolik Eskimos.

TABLE 44 - Arctic Bay Population, 1961 to 1966

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Total Population	176	183	192	195	202	216
F.U.	41	39	35	39	39	35
Widowers	2	2	2	2	2	2
Widows	1	1	1	1	1	1
Spinsters	1	1	1	1	1	1

During the period 1961 to 1967, the population has increased at Arctic Bay through natural increase, rather than immigration into the area. In 1967 four Eskimo family units moved back to Arctic Bay area from the Bellot strait area. Prior to this movement they had traded at Spence Bay, in preference to crossing Prince Regent Inlet. While at Ikkerasar, the children attended Inuvik school, being picked by annual airlifts under the direction of the Spence Bay Area Administrator. Ikkerasar, has attracted a number of hunters from the Admiralty Inlet area due to the richness of the resource base. The hunters stayed in this area for varying periods and then returned home. The eldest man of this group has assumed a position of some authority in the community, and plans to remain at Arctic Bay, despite a somewhat diminished resource base. The usual factors of housing and ready access to trade goods, and the availability of educational facilities, are the major deterrents to a return to the Somerset Island area.

In general, the resource base of both the Igloolik and Pond Inlet area is superior to the resource base available in the upper part of Admiralty Inlet, and as a result there is little incentive to move into the area. Also both settlements have grown at a greater rate than Arctic Bay, and possess greater settlement attractions.

Marriages, Arctic Bay

Thirty-three marriages were recorded from May 23, 1948 to July 18, 1965

TABLE 45 - Births, Arctic Bay Area, 1950 to 1967

Year	Male	Female	Total	Year	Male	Female	Total
1950	3	4	7	1959	4	6	10
1951	1	2	3	1960	1	1	2
1952	3	2	5	1961	2	6	8
1953	4	2	6	1962	4	2	6
1954	-	1	1	1963	2	5	7
1955	2	3	5	1964	5	2	7
1956	-	2	2	1965	3	6	9
1957	2	3	5	1966	5	-	5
1958	4	4	8	1967 [†]	3	5	8
Totals				48			
				56			
				104			

[†]To September 1967

TABLE 46 - Recorded Deaths, Arctic Bay Area,
1947 to 1966 by Age Groups

	0-1	1-14	15-64	65-
Male	13	9	11	2
Female	5	4	8	1
Total	18	13	19	3

A variety of causes of death were recorded. Twenty deaths were listed as unknown. The deaths of six were attributed to tuberculosis, two drownings and one by avalanche, pneumonia and influenza were major causes of death.

TABLE 47 - Birth Rates, N.W.T., 1962-1966

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	All Canada
Indians	41	37.5	39.1	37.5	37.9	
Eskimos	61	59.8	64.5	59.8	54.4	
Others	39	41.0	45.0	41.0	28.2	
Totals	47.3	48.4	50.6	46.8	40.0	23.5

The crude birth rate tends to be high if women age 17-35 make up a large proportion of the population.

Population of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in Comparison to Over-all Population of the N.W.T.

Some comparisons may be made between the populations of the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas with the estimated population of the Northwest Territories. In 1967, the population of the Pond Inlet comprised 3.5 per cent of the total Eskimo population and 1.27 per cent of the total population of 26,865. The population of Arctic Bay amounted to 2.1 per cent of the total Eskimo population and 0.8 per cent of total population of the N.W.T.

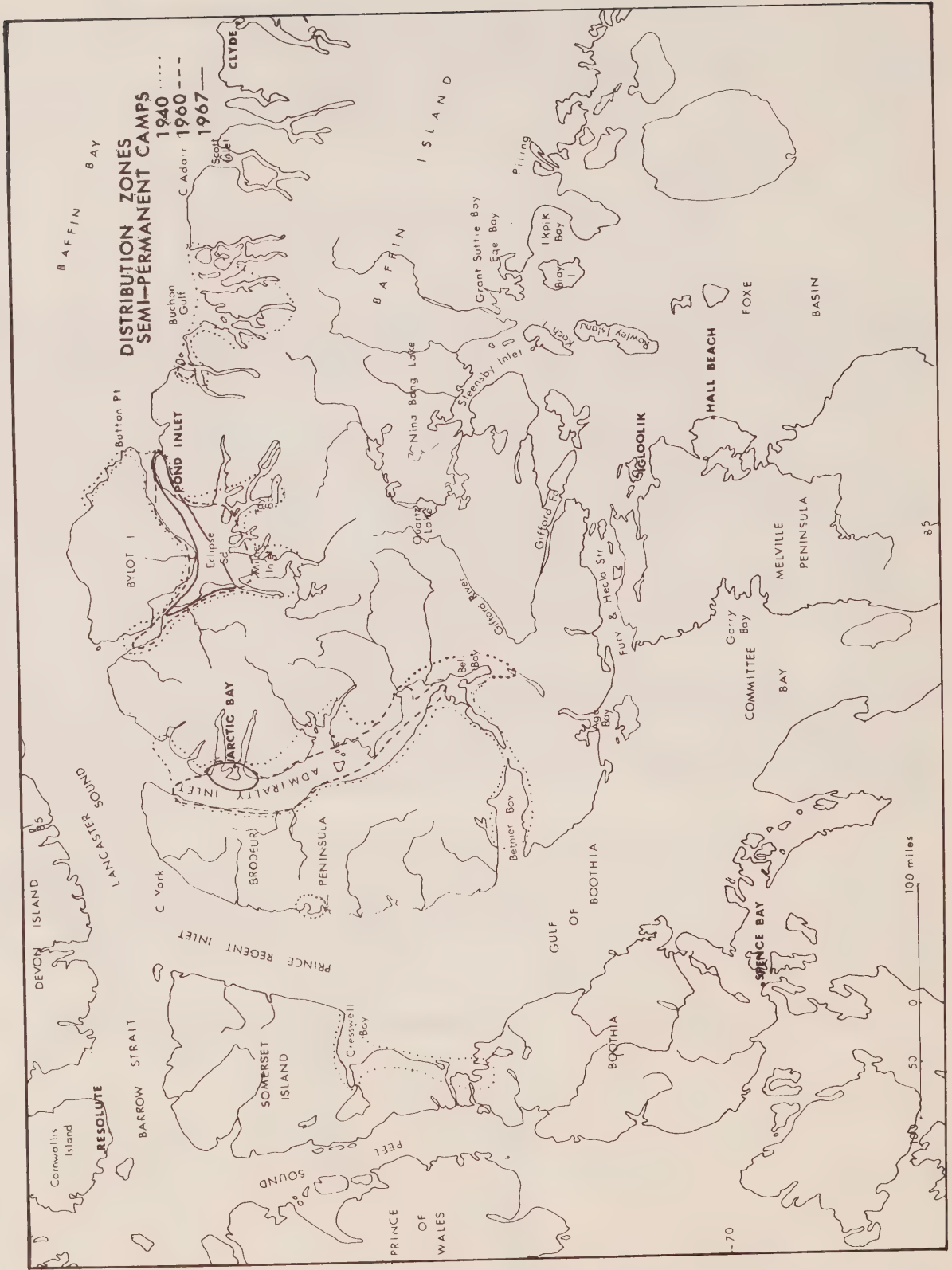
The estimated population of the Northwest Territories for 1966 was:

TABLE 48 - Population, N.W.T., 1966

	Indians	Eskimos	Whites	Total
Number	6,274	9,792	10,799	26,865
Percentage of total	23.4%	36.4%	40.2%	100%

These figures have been arrived at by adding the natural increase (births minus deaths) to the figures of the previous year.

FIGURE 17 - Distribution Zones Semi-permanent Camps, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Areas, 1940 - 1967



Chapter V - Eskimo Camps

There are a large number of Eskimo campsites in the Pond Inlet area extending from Dexterity Island to Navy Board Inlet. The majority have been abandoned for various reasons and the remaining camps are located from Guy's Bight on the east to Low Point on the west.

Types of Camps, 1930 to 1960

Since the subsistence economy is still operative in the Pond Inlet area and camps continue to operate on a limited scale, a further breakdown of types of camps is worthwhile. Some camps have been transitory in nature and reflected the changing subsistence cycle and resource base while others have been semi-permanent bases for a number of families operating over a well defined resource base. The semi-permanent camps have been located in areas of good sea mammal resources sufficient to support a number of families. In a number of cases, short distance moves were made to summer, coastal tenting areas. Short term hunts away from the normal resource area were carried out for sealing, usually in the spring, but also in the winter if caches ran short. In the summer, inland trips were made for caribou hunting, for fresh meat and clothing skins, by some families or groups of hunters. In the Buchan Gulf area more extensive movements were made from semi-permanent camps to summer caribou hunting camps at the fiord heads. These more extended movements were necessary to reach better caribou grounds in the interior beyond the highland areas. There are a number of campsites which were occupied for a year or two and then abandoned, due to an unsatisfactory resource base.

Seasonal Camps

1. Spring seal hunting camps - short term camps at head of Navy Board Inlet or Button Point to hunt both floe-edge seals and utok seals, and narwhals massing at the leads. These camps were frequently located on sea ice within ready access of floe-edge.
2. Spring seal hunting camps in good utok areas - short term and frequently moved from location - Eclipse Sound area, Navy Board Inlet area, North Arm Coutts Inlet.
3. Summer caribou hunting and fishing camps - established at heads of bays, inlets, fiords, or at inland lakes - Paquet Bay, Tay Sound, Koluktoo Bay, Cambridge Fiord.

There was a general spring movement to coastal areas of family groups of hunters, who stayed at the floe-edge until ice conditions became poor, when they retreated ahead of break-up. Movement to the summer caribou hunting areas usually took place by boat in August, although, in a few instances, camps were established early enough in the year to permit travel to the camp location by dogteam. When this occurred, the hunters remained inland until autumn, when they could move down to the coast by sled on frozen waterways. Normally, some families remained at the coast to harvest sea mammals. Of the seasonal camps, the floe-edge hunting camps in the Button Point area are the most important. Summer caribou hunting and fish camps are no longer

FIGURE 18 - Eskimo Camps, Pond Inlet Area

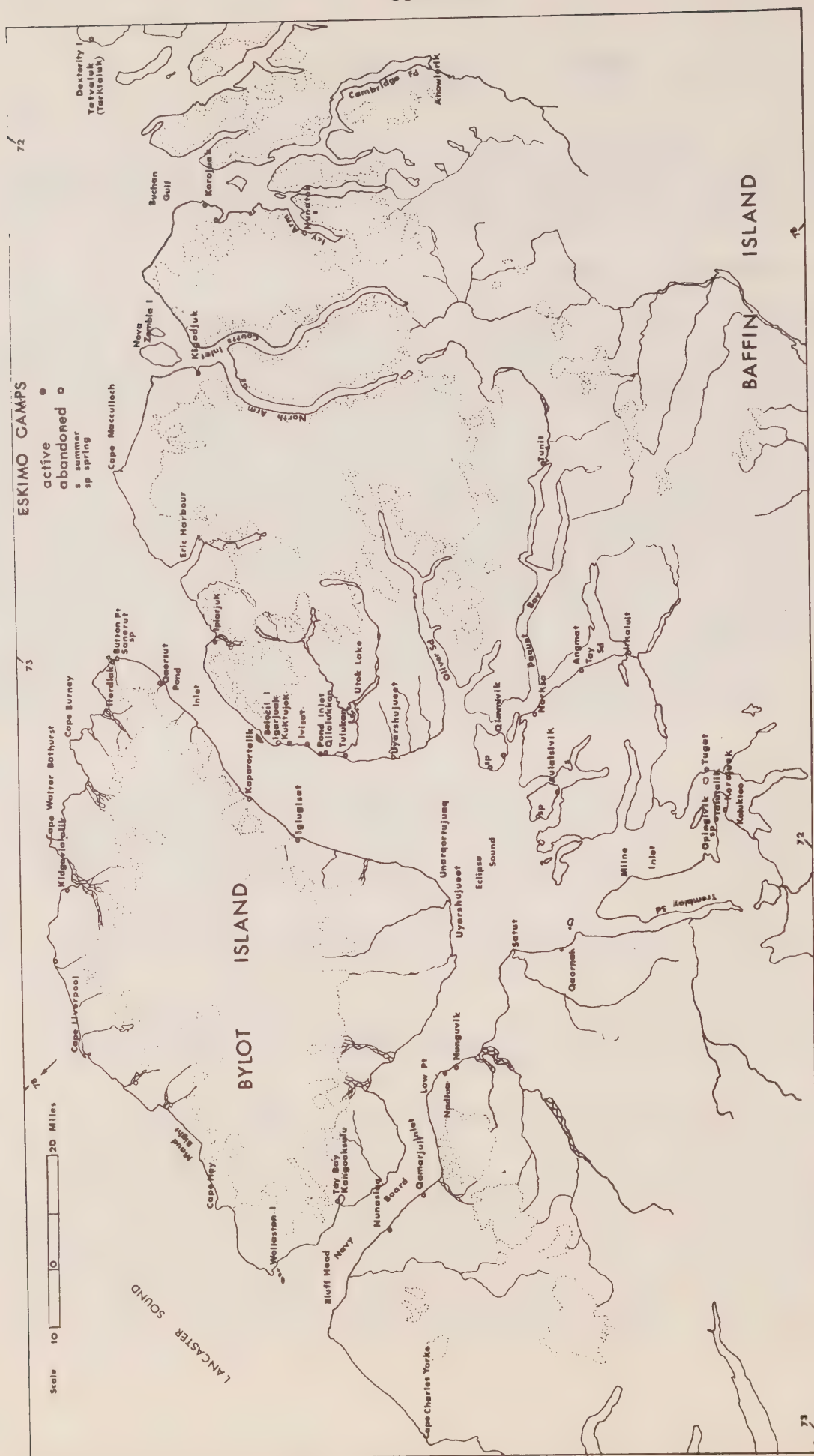
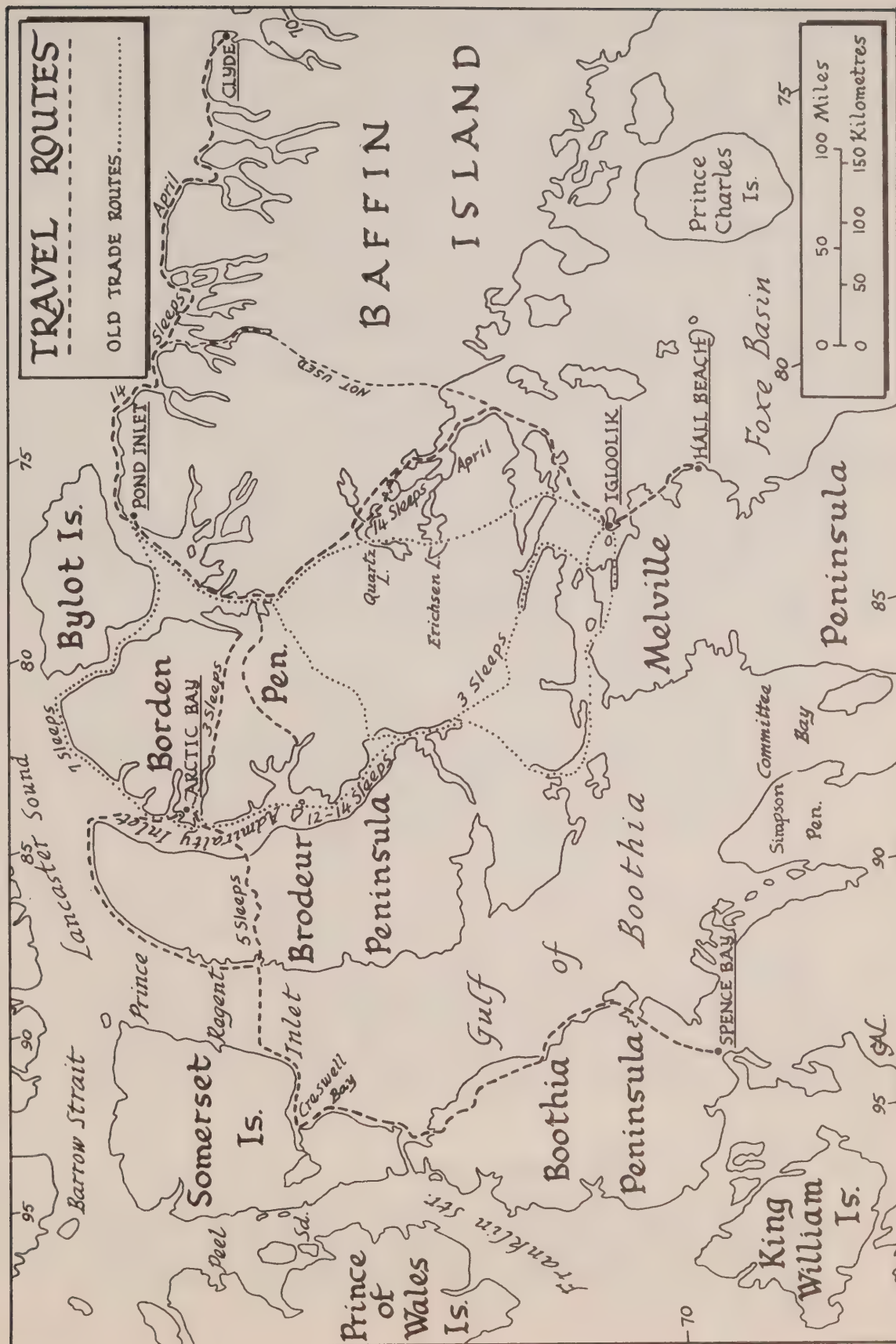


FIGURE 19 - Sled Travel Routes, Pond Inlet and Admiralty Inlet Areas



established in the Pond Inlet area. The camps in the Buchan Gulf area were occupied by mixed groups of Tununirmiut and Akudnirmiut, although Iglulik Eskimos stayed in the area for varying periods. There were always some families who moved about and covered extensive distances, staying in a number of camps for varying periods. A few Iglulik Eskimos are known to have been in the Anowling or Cambridge Fiord area.

The Contemporary Situation in Respect to Eskimo Camps

The Button Point (Sanerut camp) is still of major importance for winter and spring floe-edge hunting. Fewer families now roam about hunting seals in the spring due to the establishment of a school at Pond Inlet. Small groups of hunters now make quick spring caribou hunts or fishing trips, leaving their families in the settlement. In 1967 there were no seasonal caribou or fish camps established by the Pond Inlet people. Finally, there has been a drastic reduction in the number of Eskimos now living in semi-permanent camps, through the increase of housing in the settlement.

Sled Travel Routes

Extended sled travel routes are declining in importance, and a description of these is valid in conjunction with a discussion of Eskimo camps. The routes, which once had some importance as trading routes, are now infrequently used, except by travellers visiting relatives in other settlements. The decline of camps along the routes has also made them less attractive.

1. Pond Inlet to Igloolik

South across Milne Inlet to Koluktoo Bay, along Phillips Creek Valley to the west end of Inutorfik Lake, east of Nina Bang Lake along a north south lake system to Steensby Inlet, to Iglogjuak camp at Cape Thalbitzer, around the east end and south side of Jens Munk to Kapueevic camp, on the south side of Jens Munk, then west to Igloolik (Ikpiajuk).

Alternate Route

From Phillips Creek to Quartz Lake, Ericksen Lake south to Murray Maxwell Bay, then southwest to Igloolik. The time required for the crossing was 14 sleeps in April to reach Igloolik, depending on good snow conditions on the overland crossing. This route requires large dog food supplies being collected prior to the land crossing. The Eskimos rely on taking some caribou along the route, chiefly in the Inutorfik Lake area.

2. Pond to Arctic Bay

West across Eclipse Sound to Uyarashujueet, across Navy Board Inlet to Nadlua at Low Point, north up Navy Board Inlet to Cape Charles Yorke, south along Admiralty Inlet to Avartok camp at the head of Strathcona Sound, then into Adams Inlet and Arctic Bay.

Time required for this trip is seven days by dogteam. This route closely parallels the coast on sea ice.

3. Pond to Clyde River

Pond to Ipiarjuk camp at Guy's Bight, east to Cape Macculloch, then south around the east side of Nova Zembla, south across Buchans Gulf, across the neck of Cape Gargenholm (around Isbjorn Island depending on ice) to Cape Hunter, around Cape Adair into Scott Inlet and south to Cape Eglinton, across the coastal lowlands into Clyde Inlet. Time required for this trip is 14 days.

There was a danger of ice breaking away in Cape Bowen area.

Major Factors in Decline of Camps in Recent Years

A number of factors have precipitated a decline in camps during the 1960's. The rapid growth in administration and the establishment of school facilities have been major factors. Hostels were never satisfactory from the viewpoint of Eskimo parents, who insisted on being near their children. The large scale housing program in 1965-1966 provided a major incentive to the closing of camps, although attempts were made to prevent the decline of camps through providing housing in the camps. During a few brief years, in the period from 1963-1965, the Eskimos had both an increased summer and winter revenue through increased sealskin prices. They bought more store goods than they did when fox-trapping and family allowances were the major sources of revenue. A decline in sealskin prices was partially overcome by construction programs in the settlement.

The establishment of a nursing station in 1966 at Pond Inlet was an incentive to moving into the settlement. Increased accessibility from the outside has led to epidemics reaching the camps with greater frequency. Camp Eskimos reach the settlement two or three times a month, in contrast to earlier periods when they made spring and autumn trading trips. The Qaornak Eskimos are the only group following the old trading patterns. Today, Eskimos are less dependent on whaleboats, and individual Eskimos are able to obtain canoes, skiffs and outboard motors.

A diminution of caribou skins, and a growing reliance on store-bought clothing, resulted in a reduced mobility of family groups. This might be considered as one of the factors in camp breakdown; the confinement of women to the camp for long periods except in the warm spring months also aids this trend. In the settlement, there are unrestricted opportunities for women to visit one another. In former years women took a more active part in hunting trips by both dog sled and walking.

Geographic Controls in Respect to the Establishment of Camps

Some geographic controls are in evidence with respect to the location of semi-permanent camps. Certain zones are less favourable to human occupation by Eskimo groups following a modified subsistence economy.

- South part of Tay Sound and Koluktoo Bay, high winds in the summer and autumn, in unfavourable years, prevented the establishment of sufficient food caches. These were also areas of deep soft snow in the late winter and early spring. There is also a lack of ice-cracks for seal netting.
- North part of Navy Board Inlet, Cape Hay to Cape Liverpool, high winds during open-water season and a lack of sheltered anchorages for whaleboats, with the exception of Tay Bay. This is a good zone for maulirtuk or open-water sealing, but there is a danger of ice breaking away.
- North Coast Bylot Island, Cape Hay to Cape Liverpool, ice breaks away from the land during stormy periods in winter and west to east currents plus lack of sheltered anchorages.
- Buchan Gulf area - distance to trading posts Pond Inlet and Clyde River, relative isolation during open-water period due to rough waters, and exposed headlands Cape Coutts, northwest-southeast current in Baffin Bay.
- Soft snows along the east Baffin coast in spring.

Despite these limitations, all of these locations offered some advantages, particularly in respect to certain resources, and were all used as the location for semi-permanent camps, with the exception of the Cape Hay and Cape Liverpool coast, which appears to have been the most unsatisfactory in terms of semi-permanent camps. Similarly, unindented coastlines on north Borden and Brodeur Peninsula are unsatisfactory in terms of human occupation. The main consideration in semi-permanent camp location appears to have been continuous access to sea mammal resources throughout the year. Where these were only seasonally available, or present in limited numbers, camps tended to be small.

The Camp Boss Concept

The position of the camp boss in the Pond Inlet area is conditional on a number of factors. The most important appears to have been the size of the camp. In camps larger than the extended family unit, the outstanding hunter assumed the position of camp boss. This was usually a man with an intimate knowledge of hunting conditions, and resources available in the camp area. In some cases a hereditary form of camp boss occurred, but this was conditional on ability as a hunter rather than descent. Until recent years, the ownership of a whaleboat was an essential consideration, and camp bosses either acquired a boat through trade as an individual matter, or through persuading other hunters in the camp to contribute to the purchase price.¹

Damas (1963, p.170) speaking of leadership among the Igloodik Eskimos made the following comments:

¹This has occurred both in the Igloodik area and in the Pond Inlet area in recent years. In the Pond Inlet area, the Ipiardjukmiut and Qaornukmiut have purchased boats collectively while the Ussuadjukmiut purchased a boat in 1964.

"At some places, the extended family level of economic organization was congruent with the village level. In some cases village leadership was split; in others it appeared to be non-existent. In some cases, leadership was mostly determined by kinship connection. In others family, wealth or the ownership of a whaleboat or even personality factors were seen as responsible for the emergence of an issumatag. Leaders were found to be both weak and strong. The extended family unit was seen as the primary economic unit in many cases, but there were instances of independent nuclear families operating as a basic unit".

Composition of an Eskimo Camp

Eskimo camps in the Pond Inlet area have varied in composition. In large camps there has been an inner core consisting of the camp boss, his adult sons and their families, and frequently, sons-in-law. The intermediate position was occupied by members of the extended kinship group and close friends. On the perimeter were camp hangers-on and wandering hunters. Smaller camps consisted of a family group, a father and adult sons or two close friends and their families. The single family camp was an exception to the rule and usually consisted of a social outcast although some capable hunters were pioneers in the sense that they occupied the fringe zone of the major resource areas. There is one recent example of the single family camp in the Pond Inlet area (Korojuak in Buchan Gulf 1962-1963). In the Igloolik area a widower lives in the Parry Bay area at Kaviialook.

Issumatag, Issumatta - Camp Boss

The composition of the largest camps was relatively fluid and the majority of adult Eskimos at Pond Inlet have lived at a varied number of camps both in the Pond Inlet area and elsewhere (chiefly in the Arctic Bay, Igloolik or Buchan Gulf areas). Until recently, one of the major concerns in location was access to the trading post for ammunition, staple foods and some clothing.

In general, permissiveness existed in respect to the establishment of a family in a camp. Less capable hunters were never forced to leave a camp. Young people without equipment, or impoverished individuals, were accepted as members of a camp. Inefficient hunters were treated with some scorn and usually derided for their lack of ability, but they continued to share in the camp resources. Orphans or the mentally incompetent were frequently exploited as a labour source in camps.

The Hudson's Bay Company promoted the concept of camp boss. This was reasonable in economic terms of trapping and trading. The leader could be encouraged to trap with greater effort. As group leader, he assumed some responsibility for the camp and its ability to overcome a crisis. The R.C.M.P. also paid attention to camp bosses and it was to these men that conservation was stressed. With increased activities on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the role of issumattas gradually began to disintegrate with a growing settlement orientation. Attempts have been made on the part of some area administrators to perpetuate the issumattas through inclusion councils, but some of these men have shown some difficulty in being functional in a different milieu.

The Eskimo population in the Arctic Bay area shows a greater diversity

than that of the Pond Inlet area. This appears to have been a factor in the assumption of leadership roles by immigrants rather than by established families.

Position of Former Camp Bosses Living in Pond Inlet

There are five former camp bosses now living in the settlement. Four of these are in the older age group (ages 75, 58, 52 and 49). Two served as special constables with the R.C.M.P., while two others worked briefly for the police on extended dogteam patrols in the 1930's and 1940's. They are respected elders in the Pond Inlet settlement. One is active in the Anglican church organizations. Three of the older men are still active hunters and trappers. One of the former camp bosses was a community council member, but feels that he is too old (75) to cope with settlement problems. Within the immediate and extended family groups, these men exert considerable control in both economic and social matters. Four still support growing families and take part in community council projects and casual labour with construction. As men with a vast amount of experience in terms of resource harvesting on modified subsistence patterns, these men are frequently consulted by younger Eskimos. One of the men is a participant in the fledgeling co-operative and netted char for shipment to Resolute in 1967. These men would be an invaluable asset in the organization of projects based on resource harvesting in the Pond Inlet area. They are experts in seal netting locations, in seal netting techniques, and in problems of fishing in various localities which have fallen out of use due to in-settlement orientation of the population.

No particular factions or caste systems appear to have evolved in the Pond Inlet area or within the settlement. This appears to be due to extended kinship relationships and a lack of non-Eskimo interference.

Nunasiaq (the land we have found)

Between 1956 and 1964, a camp was established at Nunasiaq, an old camp site on the west side of Navy Board Inlet. The camp consisted of three families of immigrant Iglulik Eskimos and one Pond Inlet family. The Oblate missionary from Pond Inlet had a small outstation consisting of a small hut and storage shed. The Eskimos were resident in modified **qarmats** - **sod houses** with wooden interiors.

Nunasiaq was located on a low terrace facing Navy Board Inlet and the west side of Bylot Island. The resource area was rich in terms of fox and sea mammals (narwhal, udjuk, ringed and harp seals and walrus and polar bear). Caribou by this time had been virtually eliminated on north Borden Peninsula, and hunts on Borden Peninsula or Bylot Island were unproductive. Infrequent trips were made to the Milne Inlet area for caribou, 120 miles to the south. The favoured location for seal netting was at Bluff Head at the entrance to Navy Board Inlet. Maulirtuk sealing zones were at the floe-edge north of the Wollaston Islands and within the northern reaches of Navy Board Inlet. The favoured late spring and summer narwhal hunting zones were between Nunasiaq and Qarmarjuit. Bearded seal, harp and walrus were taken during southward movements of these animals in Navy Board Inlet. Some spring walrus hunting occurred in conjunction with floe-edge hunting for seals in the Cape Hay area. A 22 foot freight canoe with a 15 H.P. motor was used for extended hunts in open-water. Trading trips were made to Pond Inlet every two or three months.

The trapping zone extended to Cape Charles Yorke on the west and within Navy Board Inlet (this area is presently being used by Nadlua Eskimos for trapping). Ptarmigan, snow-geese in the spring and autumn and agpah (murre) were hunted. Polar cod were also taken. This camp broke up with the hospitalization of the nominal camp boss. The remaining families moved into Pond Inlet.

Iglugisat Camp (1951-1966)¹

This camp was founded in 1951 by a Buchan Gulf Eskimo and consisted of a mixed group of former Buchan Gulf Eskimos and Pond Inlet Eskimos. The camp site is located just west of Sermilik glacier on the south side of Bylot Island, on the eastern boundary of the lowlands of southwest Bylot Island. The camp had a resource base consisting of a good trapping area on the southwestern Bylot coast and excellent seal and narwhal hunting grounds in Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet. Seal nets could be set within the immediate vicinity of the camp. The immediate area was poor in terms of caribou or fish, and these had to be secured in the Tay Sound or Paquet Bay to the south. The camp was isolated from the settlement during break-up and freeze-up. It disbanded in 1966 and the members moved into Pond Inlet to take advantage of the low-cost housing.

Jobie's Camp (1953-1954)

This camp was located on the northeast Bylot Island coast and consisted of three families of older and more experienced hunters. Although it was located in a rich sea mammal resource zone, it suffered from the disadvantages of being located some distance from Pond Inlet in a difficult area in terms of summer boat travel, due to currents and ice drift. The caribou in the Maud Bight and Cape Liverpool area had been decimated a few years earlier. In winter, the floe-edge was unstable due to shifting ice in Lancaster Sound. In 1954, the camp disbanded and one family relocated at Nadlua, one family went to Grise Fiord and another family moved about in the general Pond Inlet area staying at various camps for indefinite periods.

Unanticipated Catastrophes Leading to the Abandonment of Camps

In some cases, unanticipated calamities have resulted in the abandonment of favourable camp sites. In October 1943, Qarmarjuit camp in Navy Board Inlet was struck by a disastrous outbreak of deaths attributed to enterocolitis. The deaths of three adult males, three adult females and seven children are listed in the vital statistics, although local Eskimos say that 27 people died. The deaths are attributed to eating spoiled walrus meat stored in food caches from an August hunt at the Wollaston Islands. Survivors of this outbreak were taken to Nadlua and the camp site was abandoned permanently. Local superstition attributed the deaths to a torngak, (evil spirit).

¹The camp boss worked for R.C.M.P. as a special constable and is one of the older Eskimos in the Pond Inlet area with a bank account.

On September 7, 1945, in the Koluktoo Bay area, a boat capsized in a storm resulting in the death by drowning of one adult male, two adult females, and six children from an Eskimo camp at Tugat. The camp was subsequently abandoned and not reoccupied, although Eskimos have used other camp sites for summer hunting activities in Koluktoo Bay.

The house ruins at Qarmarjuit, (a camp abandoned due to a mass death from eating spoiled walrus meat in 1943), do not have a rectangular shape and are small one-family units, incorporating whalebone and turf. In contrast the housing units at Nunasiaq, 1956-1962, a more recent camp, incorporate wood extensively and are rectangular in shape. Photographs of Pond Inlet taken in 1921-1922 show Eskimo housing of salvaged lumber, canvas and sods. Wood was rarely burned, being too scarce and too valuable in house construction. When a move was made to a new camp location, the wooden parts were dismantled and moved to the new location. In 1967, two camp bosses were living in wooden shacks, while the other camp occupants were living in low-cost rental housing.

The Single Family Unit Camp

Occasionally a one-family unit was established in a camp, for varied reasons. One camp of this type now exists in the Pond Inlet area at Tuniaqtaalik Point. Another camp of this type was established in the Hall Beach area on Melville Peninsula at Kavialook in 1964, and has continued up to the present time. The lone hunter faces a number of hazards in an isolated existence. Collectively, hunters can usually manage to endure poor hunting periods.

The single family camp unit resulted from ostracism (implied or real), or the inability of a hunter to act collectively, or the innate urge of a hunter to explore a new hunting territory.

Provision of Country Food

The establishment of a producers co-operative would be a preliminary step towards maintaining present levels of resource harvesting. There are limited opportunities for sales elsewhere of local foods, with the exception of fish sales to Resolute. It may be argued that it would be better to retain the fish at the local level for use in the home community rather than exporting it, unless production can be raised to higher levels.

Some artificial supports are necessary; these can best be achieved through the Community Council or a producers Co-operative.

Resource Harvesting Projects

While values of country food can readily be ascribed in terms of equating them with store foods in a low income community, it is unrealistic to contemplate equating local foods with store foods in terms of maintaining or increasing local consumption levels. Organized resource harvesting programs require financial support in terms of supplies and equipment. The returns of these programs have to be made available at the local level either on a non-remunerative basis or on a low-cost basis. For example, sale of seal meat or fish at 50 cents a pound is unrealistic in terms of available income.

On the other hand, it may be realistic to contemplate organized resource harvesting programs having a two-fold purpose. For example: the production of sealskins for purchase by the co-operative, the provision of country food at a low-cost. There are ample opportunities for organized resource harvesting programs involving narwhal, seal and fish.

Aulatsivik Camp (Curry Island)

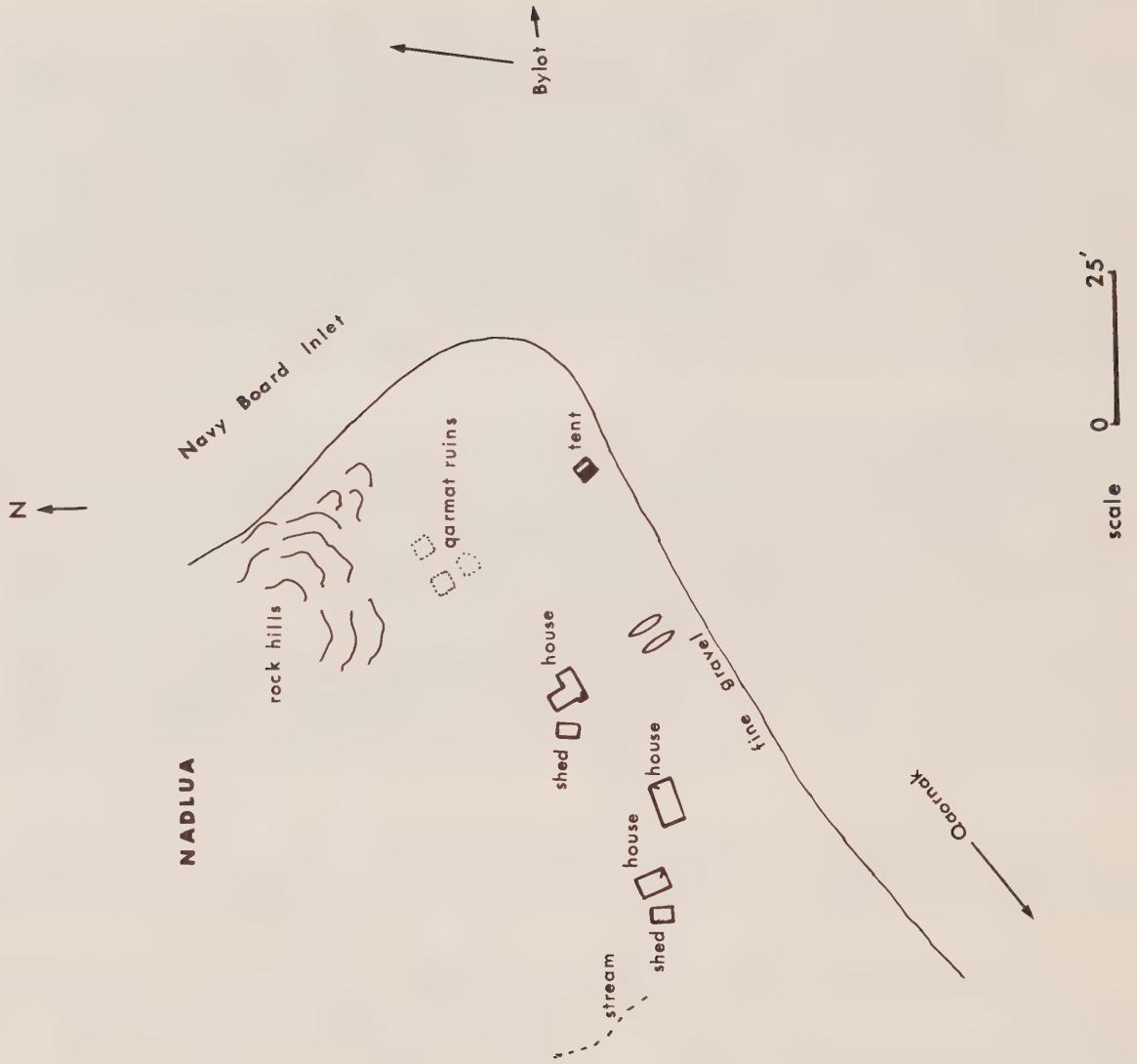
Aulatsivik camp, 45 miles southwest of Pond Inlet, was occupied in the thirties by five families who subsequently moved to Admiralty Inlet area. It was later occupied by Akomalik, a camp boss of some repute, his son and an Iglulik family. Akomalik, his son Idlout and Kadlut, a friend of Idlout, occupied the camp through the late forties and early fifties. Following the death of Akomalik, Idlout and subsequently Kadlut, relocated in Resolute where they felt resources would be superior. They are still there. In addition to these families, others stayed at Aulatsivik for various periods. Following its abandonment by the Aulatsivimiut, the camp was briefly occupied by a mixed group of Eskimos, who had hunted and camped in the Navy Board Inlet, Tay Sound and Milne Inlet area.

The south side of Eclipse Sound was the major sealing zone for maulirtuk, aglu, utok and open seal hole sealing. Seal nets were placed in the Cape Knud Jorgensen area. Narwhal, moving toward Milne Inlet in late July, could be taken from the ice edge on the north side of Curry Island and a spring hunting camp was established for this purpose, as well as for seal hunting. The main trapping zone was in Paquet Bay and Tay Sound area. They fished at the saputits at Irkaluit. If trapping was poor in this area they moved their lines west to Milne Inlet. Like the Qimmivikmiut they hunted caribou in the Paquet Bay, Tay Sound area and fished at the saputits at Irkaluit, establishing fish caches for winter use. Arctic hare were hunted on the uplands of Curry Island and along the trapping areas. In autumn, an ice house was established as a seal meat cache for the winter.

Housing consisted of the usual modified qarmat with a seasonal movement into tents. A spring and summer hunting camp was located at the northwest side of Curry Island.

Qimmivik camp, 33 miles south of Pond Inlet, is located on Emmerson Island in the southern part of Eclipse Sound. In the 1930's, this camp was occupied by a group of Pond Inlet Eskimos. These were followed by a mixed group of Pond Inlet and Iglulik Eskimos. The Iglulik Eskimos returned to the Igloodik area, while one family of Pond Inlet Eskimos moved to Arctic Bay. In recent years, it was colonized by an extended family group of Pond Inlet Eskimos, consisting of several family units who were resident at Irkaluit in Tay Sound in the 1950's, then located at Angmat in Tay Sound in 1960, relocated at Nerksa in 1960-1961, and finally settled at Qimmivik in 1962 where they stayed until 1966 when they relocated in Pond Inlet. The reasons for leaving Irkaluit (Egaluit) were a series of poor winters and a shortage of seal. Angmat was abandoned due to dogs being lost by straying, while the Eskimos were visiting the C.D. Howe. The Nerksa site was abandoned for the same reason. As Qimmivik was on an island, there was no trouble with dogs straying during the summer. The Qimmivik Eskimo utilized a resource area extending well south to Inutorfik Lake. Their major sea mammal hunting zone was from Tuniaqtalik Point to Qorbignaluk headland west to Cape Knud Jorgensen. Seal nets were

FIGURE 20 - Sketch Map Nadlua Camp, 1967



placed in the Beacon Reefs area, the southeast corner of Emmerson Island, Frechette Island and points along the east side of Tay Sound. Narwhal were taken off the north end of Emmerson Island during their migratory movements Eclipse Sound, and the zone between Emmerson Island and the mouth of Olive Sound was a traditional area for bearded seal hunting. The trapping zone was concentrated in Tay Sound and Paquet Bay. The modified qarmat was used in winter with a movement into tents in summer.

The equipment was on a standard with other camps in the area. The Qimmivikmiut lost their large boat in 1957 in Tay Sound during a high wind in August.

Pond Inlet could be reached in winter, and was readily accessible in summer by small boat. In unfavourable years, there is a massing of ice between Emmerson Island and the mouths of Oliver and Tay Sounds. The Qimmivik Eskimos still hunt and trap in their former resource area, but also net and hunt seal at Beloeil Island north of Pond Inlet. They have extended their hunting activities as far as Button Point. As with other Eskimos, who have settled in Pond Inlet, they fish the Salmon River and Utok Lake. To a large extent, this group still functions collectively due to the nature of the extended family relationship, although settlement based. Equipment (dogteams, boats and motors, etc.) is shared for greater hunting efficiency. The former camp boss has kinship or marriage ties with eleven other families in the Pond Inlet area.

Nadlua Camp (The Crossing Place) Nallua

Nadlua camp, five miles south of Low Point on the west side of Navy Board Inlet, is located in an area where Eskimo camps have been known since historical times (Tolooria, Nunguvik). It is 65 miles west of the Pond Inlet settlement, and accessible by dogteam travel in winter and boat in summer.

The camp is located on old raised beaches. An Archaean upland area rises to the west and is covered by glaciers. The beach area consists of medium sized gravel and some sand. The zone occupied by housing is well-grassed.

The general resource base extends from the head of Navy Board Inlet and Cape Charles Yorke and Cape Hay to Milne Inlet and Koluktoo Bay, but there is a core area stretching from the head of Navy Board Inlet to the southwest tip of Bylot Island and west to Satoot on the west side of Eclipse Sound. During the winter, the resource utilization zone is much expanded by trapping activities. During the summer, the resource base is somewhat restricted, since the immediate location offers excellent opportunities to harvest sea mammals, narwhal, bearded seal, walrus and harp seal moving through Navy Board Inlet, as well as the ubiquitous ringed seal.

Caribou appear to be a limited resource. Until the end of the 1940's, fair numbers of caribou could be taken in the plateau country to the west during the summers, but this is no longer possible. In 1965, a hunter managed to secure one caribou in August after walking inland 30 miles. Tracks were also seen. In 1967, the camp boss took one adult aged male caribou in June (fifteen miles south and west of Nadlua). A short walk inland in August 1967, by a Nadlua hunter, failed to reveal any sign of caribou. Caribou can be taken along the east side of Milne Inlet in August or September, but this requires a one to two-day trip by canoe in good weather, and a two-day trip by dogteam

to the Phillips Creek area in the winter or spring.

Char are taken by netting in July at the braided river mouth eight miles south of the camp, and in August on their upstream movement. In October and November, they are netted in deeper channels 3 miles west of the braided area. In 1967, the Nadlua Eskimos missed the August run upstream, although they attempted to intercept the run by netting. Snow geese are taken in June and early July, both on grassy lowlands along the east coast of Borden Peninsula, and on the southwest coast of Bylot. A murre colony exists at Cape Hay, but the distance is too far and the cliffs are too precipitous for easy eggging in June and early July.

Small amounts of driftwood are available northward in Navy Board Inlet. The baleen from a Greenland whale carcass at Nunasiaq was utilized for handicrafts until the supply was recently exhausted. A small erratic soapstone supply is available, and there is a white, porous soft stone (gypsum) at Canada Point.

The camp is in an excellent location in respect to narwhal hunting. These animals move down Navy Board Inlet with the formation of leads and open-water patches, and reach the Nadlua area by mid-July. During August there is a large-scale movement of narwhal heading south towards Koluktoo Bay, and it is easy for the Eskimos to take them in shallow open-water with ample depths for canoe and whaleboat hunting. A major part of the annual migration passes Low Point. In 1966, three adult and two teenage hunters took 33 whales. In mid-June, 1967, they still had whale taken in 1966 in their dog food caches. Drift ice moving down Navy Board Inlet provides excellent hunting grounds for bearded seals. There is an initial run when these seals can still be taken on ice pans. From mid-August until freeze-up, they can be hunted in open-water. Hunting success is reduced during the open-water hunting period. There is a northward movement of immature ringed seals moving up Navy Board Inlet in August, and large numbers can be taken by shooting from the shore and retrieving them with small skiffs. Seal nets are maintained in winter at two locations, both situated a short distance from the camp. One seal net is set at Low Point, the other five miles south of the camp. Harp seals are available in summer in the Navy Board Inlet and Eclipse Sound area. Occasionally Apah (Hooded seal) are seen in the Navy Board Inlet region, but these are extremely rare.

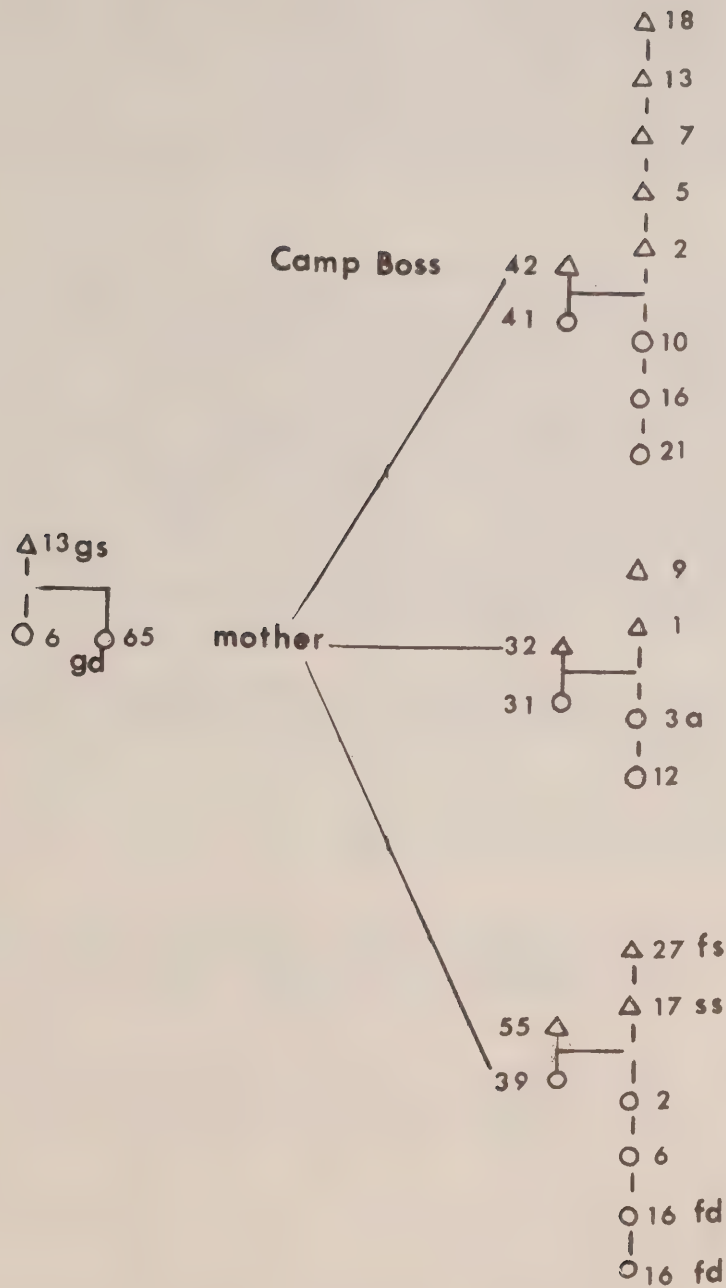
The main aglu zone for ringed seal is east of Canada Point along the southwest coast of Bylot Island. Suitable zones for maulirtuk seal hunting are located in Navy Board Inlet area, in the zone east of Canada Point and south of Bylot Island, at the head of Navy Board Inlet in the Bluff Head area.

Polar cod, sea pigeons and eiders are minor food sources. Ptarmigan are more seasonally important in the economy.

Nunguvik is a major archaeological site in the Pond Inlet area. Both Dorset and Thule house ruins are located here. Excavation of Thule ruins by the National Museum in 1967 indicated a varied resource base with large whale bones, walrus, seal and caribou remains being in evidence.

NADLUA CAMP

FIGURE 21 - Group Relationships Nadlua Camp, 1967



Code

gs - grandson

gd - grand daughter

fd - foster daughter

fs - foster son

ss - step son

a - adoptive

Composition of Nadlua Camp

The camp was occupied in 1967 by four family units. One of the family units is a widow, an aged matriach with two adopted children. This woman is the widow of the previous camp boss. Her son is the nominal camp boss. A younger half brother is resident in the camp with his family. This man worked for Baffin Iron mines during the 1965 season and is considered one of the best trappers in the area. The wife is the daughter of a former camp boss at Qimmivik. The fourth family units is headed by a middle-aged male who is married for the second time and has a large family of both adopted and natural children.

Until 1965 the families at Nadlua occupied three qarmats with sods placed over wooden frames. The ruins of these are located just north of the present site. The camp boss purchased a small wooden house from the Oblate mission at Pond Inlet and moved it by dogteam from Nunasiaq. The older adult male received an Angirraq model house and a tisi (one room) unit was issued to the aged matriach. These houses were trans-shipped from Pond Inlet by longliner boat in 1965. The aged matriach rotates between Pond Inlet and Nadlua and shares her house with her younger son and his family. Only one family moved into a tent at Nadlua in 1967. The other families remained in their houses through the summer except for the older male who was assisting the Oblate missionary at Nunguvik, an archaeological site down the coast. A small stream flowing from the west is located just behind the camp and provides freshwater.

By eastern Arctic standards in 1967, this camp was relatively well-equipped and the individuals had the standard gear used by Eskimos in a modified hunting and trapping economy.

Equipment Owned by Nadlua Eskimos, 1967

Camp Boss - 16 foot canoe, 7½ H.P. Evinrude, .3030, .303, 30-06, two 22 rifles, 19 dogs (two teams), 80 traps, 1 seal net, telescope, one dogteam used by teenage son.

Camp Member - old whaleboat (unsafe), homemade plywood boat, .222, .303, .22, 18 dogs, 14 traps, 1 seal net, 1 telescope.

Brother of Camp Boss

- 22 foot canoe purchased in 1967, 10 H.P. Evinrude, .303, .222, .22, 14 dogs, 200 traps, 1 fish net, 1 seal net, binoculars.

TABLE 49 - Nadlua Camp, Fur and Sealskin Returns, 1966-1967

	Father and Teenage Son		Single Trapper		Father and Teenage Son	
June, 1966	3 c.s.	\$22.75	12 c.s.	\$82.25	-	-
July	-	-	4 c.s.	34.00	9 c.s.	\$85.75
August	-	-	3 b.s.	57.75	3 c.s.	23.00
September	13 c.s.	130.25	-	-	-	-
October	4 c.s.	28.05	-	-	-	-
November	-	-	11 c.s.	63.00	5 c.s.	40.00
December	1 c.s.	5.00	2 w.f.	30.00	6 w.f.	71.00
	-	-	1 c.s.	7.00	6 c.s.	33.00
January	5 w.f.	73.00	23 w.f.	372.00	1 w.f.	15.00
	3 c.s.	21.00	-	-	3 c.s.	17.00
February	6 w.f.	97.00	5 w.f.	102.00	4 c.s.	16.00
	3 w.f.	52.00	-	-	-	-
March	5 w.f.	54.00	-	-	1 c.s.	8.00
	-	-	-	-	2 w.f.	34.00
April	3 w.f.	35.00	-	-	3 w.f.	34.00
	-	-	-	-	3 c.s.	14.00
May	-	-	2 c.s.	7.75	2 c.s.	6.50
	-	-	7 w.f.	51.00	-	-
June, 1967	2 c.s.	11.00	12 c.s.	-	-	-
Total Trade for Period	19 w.f.	264.00	37 w.f.	550.00	12 w.f.	154.00
	26 c.s.	270.00	33 c.s.	220.30	37 c.s.	244.05
Total Incomes		\$534.05		\$859.05		\$398.05

c.s - ringed seal, w.f. - white fox, b.s. - bearded seal

Ipiarjuk Camp (The Pocket)

Ipiarjuk camp is located 33 miles northeast of Pond Inlet in Guy's Bight. It is sheltered on the west by the slopes of the Pond Highland, and located on outwash gravels covered with moss and lichens and scattered stones. The beach alternates between fine sands and gravels and shelves gently. The offshore waters are ample for anchoring whaleboats or trap boats. To the south there

is a narrow valley occupied by a lake. Eastward there is a range of hills extending across the Macculloch lowland to Cape Macculloch. Ipiarjuk is an excellent site with respect to sea mammal resource since hunters have ready access to the seal rich zone of Pond Inlet and Baffin Bay. Ipiarjuk is thirty-five miles from Button Point. During the winter, the floe-edge limit is between fifteen and twenty miles to the northeast. Due to the relatively slow freeze-up of Pond Inlet there are some locational disadvantages in reaching the Pond Inlet settlement during November and December. The Eskimos cross the highland by two routes shown on the map. Two dogteams are used on each komatik.

This camp was established in the 1940's by three Eskimo families from Korojuak in the Buchan Gulf area. It was selected in preference to the Button Point area, as being more accessible to Pond Inlet by Eskimos travelling by small boat or dogteam (during the freeze-up period). As with Nadlua, this camp consists of an extended family unit. The patriarch of the camp was an outstanding hunter in his day and at 75 is still an active hunter. His son is the camp boss. A widowed daughter lives in the camp. A younger son and a married daughter are also camp members. This camp shows a greater cohesiveness than Nadlua and more collective action is hunting and camp organization. In the winter, hunters from Pond Inlet travel to Ipiarjuk to obtain seal meat from large stocks collected there in the autumn by the Ipiarjukmiut.

The resource zone of the Ipiarjukmiut extends from Guy's Bight north to Cape Walter Bathurst and south to Buchan Gulf. The inner core zone includes the rich sea mammal area between Cape Walter Bathurst, Cape Macculloch and Beloeil Island. Within the core zone, land mammal resources are negligible; caribou are non-existent. There are char in the small lake draining into Guy's Bight and fish nets are left in the river during the summer. A few ptarmigan and hare are taken by the young boys of the camp.

This group once tried fishing at Utok Lake southeast of Pond Inlet but found it unprofitable due to distance and low takes. Traplines are coastal, extending eastward to Cape Macculloch and then south to Coutts Inlet and the Jameson Lowland. Caribou are hunted in the Paquet Bay area in summer and early winter, and in the Coutts Inlet or Buchan Gulf zone in April. Seal nets are placed four miles northeast of the camp on the south side of Pond Inlet. They are also maintained directly north of the camp in Guy's Bight. The murre cliffs at Cape Graham Moore are visited in late June and early July for eggs which are harvested in large quantities for immediate use. A few mature birds are collected and eaten. These are taken with 22 rifles from the cliffs. Snow geese are taken in small numbers in June along the east Bylot coast.

The major resources are sea mammals. White whale, which are seen in large numbers in August in the Guy's Bight - Eric Harbour area, are ignored in favour of narwhal taken at the floe-edge in June and July and later in open-water. Ringed seal are abundant throughout the year. Large numbers can be taken by hunting directly from shore during open-water period in August and September. This group also has ready access to the polar bear hunting zone along northeast Baffin Island.

The camp boss occupied a one room wooden shack with a porch for the storage of meat and equipment. The other families were living in two government houses of the tisi model. A wooden garmat frame had been turned into a meat storage shed.

This camp was the best equipped of camps in the Pond Inlet area through ownership of a 31 foot trap boat with a diesel motor. Unfortunately, the trap boat was destroyed in a storm in September 1967 at Pond Inlet. The abundance of country food and good organization resulted in the dogteams being some of the best seen in the area.

Equipment Owned by Ipiarjuk Eskimos, 1967

Camp Boss - 20 foot canoe, 5 H.P. Johnson, .222, .303, .22,
25 traps, 1 fish net, 1 seal net, 12 dogs,
1 telescope.

Brother of Camp Boss

- 22 foot canoe, 5 H.P. Johnson, .222, .303, .22,
26 traps, 12 dogs, 1 fish net, 1 seal net,
1 telescope.

Camp Elder - skiff, 3½ H.P. Johnson, .222, 6 traps, 12 dogs,
1 seal net, binoculars.

TABLE 50 - Ipiarjuk Camp, Fur and Sealskin Returns, 1966-1967

	Camp Patriach		Brother Camp Boss		Camp Boss	
June, 1966	3 c.s.	\$22.45	-	-	4 c.s.	\$ 31.50
July	25 c.s.	197.00	-	-	-	-
August	17 c.s.	131.75	-	-	16 c.s.	143.25
September	11 c.s.	79.30	11 c.s.	\$83.45	14 c.s.	124.00
October	1 c.s.	6.30	-	-	3 c.s.	18.00
November	3 c.s.	18.25	11 c.s.	81.00	19 c.s.	143.25
December	-	-	-	-	2 w.f.	38.00
					4 c.s.	21.00
January	1 w.f.	26.00	-	-	1 w.f.	15.00
February	-	-	26 c.s.	168.00	2 w.f.	28.00
			2 c.s.	12.00	21 c.s.	132.00
March	-	-	4 c.s.	14.00	1 c.s.	8.00
April	-	-	5 c.s.	25.00	14 c.s.	71.00

(Continued)

TABLE 50 - Continued

	Camp Patriach	Brother Camp Boss	Camp Boss
May, 1966	1 c.s. \$ 3.75	3 w.f. \$ 26.00	1 p.b. \$ 95.00
	- -	4 c.s. 16.50	30 w.f. 264.00
	- -	- -	49 c.s. 194.00
June, 1967	- -	3 c.s. 9.50	2 c.s. 2.00
Total Trade for Period	63 c.s. 458.80	56 c.s. 380.00	143 c.s. 856.00
	1 w.f. 26.00	7 w.f. 71.00	35 w.f. 345.00
	- -	- -	1 p.b. 95.00
Total Income	\$484.80	\$451.45	\$1,296.00

c.s. - common or ringed seal, w.f. - white fox, p.b. - polar bear

Winter of 1967-1968

During the winter of 1967-1968, three families left Nadlua camp for the settlement. The camp boss left due to illness of his wife, and settled in Pond Inlet. The older male and his family remained behind. Following the loss of their trap in September 1967, the Ipiarjukmiut moved into the settlement with the exception of the younger family head. In February 1968, the camp boss, the aged patriach and their families returned to camp.

Kuktujok Camp

Kuktujok camp is located six miles northeast of Pond Inlet and is the largest camp in the Pond Inlet area in terms of population. It has supplanted Igadjuak (Igarjuak) as a major camp site and is in a good zone for sea mammal hunting (ringed seal, narwhal). The trapping patterns of this group have been discussed in the section on trapping. Hunting for caribou is carried on in the Tay Sound-Paquet Bay area to the south. This group fishes with nets at the Salmon River and offshore. The camp is fronted by a mixed beach and consists of gravel cobbles and, in places, frost-shattered rocks, sand and rock outcrops. Kuktujok is unsatisfactory in terms of anchorage, being openly exposed to the sea, but this is of little importance where canoes and skiffs are used since this equipment is beached during periods of rough water. Freshwater is available from streams flowing south of the camp.

Camp Leadership

Kuktujok is centered around an extended family group consisting of three brothers and an aged matriach (died in 1967). Essentially, there is little overall leadership or manifestation of camp boss concepts. The remaining families are nuclear units with one family recently immigrant from Qaornak and one from Arctic Bay. There is a considerable amount of visiting between settlement-based Eskimos and the Kuktujumiut. Kuktujok is on the sled route from Pond Inlet to Button Point.

The population is composed of six family units with six able-bodied hunters. As a hunting group, the Kuktujok are energetic and cannot be classed as loiterers due to proximity to the settlement. The adult men participate in sea-lift and construction programs in the settlement.

Housing consists of four low-cost housing units, three government Angirag models and one Illukallak. One old qarmat frame has been converted to a storage shed and there are two smaller storage sheds for equipment. The houses are situated on a raised beach with windows facing the sea.

The following basic hunting equipment was listed during the survey in 1967.

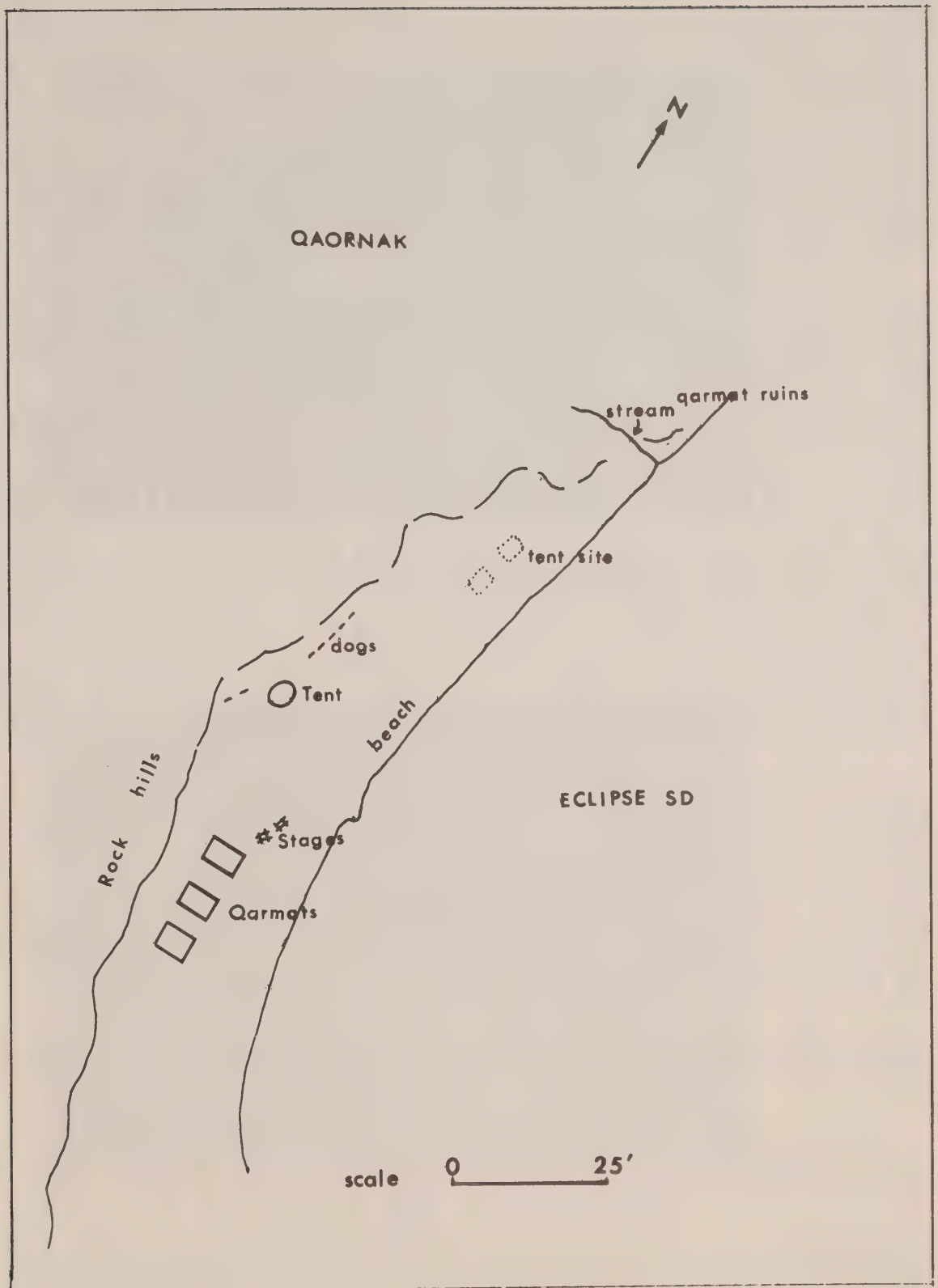
- Camp Boss - .3030 rifle (1954) .222 (1963) .22 (1966), canoe (1965), 10 H.P. Johnson (1962), 75 traps, 14 dogs, 1 telescope, 1 fish net, 1 seal net.
- Hunter - skiff, 10 H.P. Johnson, .222 rifle, 14 traps, 1 binoculars, 1 fish net, 1 seal net.
- Hunter - plywood skiff, 10 H.P. Johnson (1965), 10 dogs (son owns another 8 dogs), 5 traps owned by son, 1 fish net, 1 seal net.
- Hunter - 1 small canoe, 5 H.P. Johnson, .222, .22, 9 dogs, 1 fish net, 1 telescope.
- Hunter - 1 canoe - 16 foot, 9 H.P. Johnson, .3030, .222, .22, 14 traps, 1 seal net, 1 fish net.
- Hunter - 1 skiff, 5 H. P. Johnson (1961, 10 H.P. (1963), .3030, .222, 12 traps, 10 dogs, 1 seal net.

TABLE 51 - Trading Patterns of Kuktujok Eskimos, 1966-1967

	F	B	S	Value	F	S	Value	F	S	Value	S	Value
July, 1966	-	-	5	\$ 38.25	-	15	\$119.00	-	2	\$ 18.00	5	\$ 39.75
August	-	-	3	22.00	-	3	22.75	-	12	109.00	4	31.00
September	-	-	5	36.80	-	11	75.75	-	13	116.40	12	86.10
October	-	-	11	75.00	-	6	56.00	-	15	148.75	4	30.00
November	-	-	9	60.00	-	8	54.00	-	6	32.00	6	48.25
December	1	-	6	54.00	1	13	106.00	-	15	108.00	3	25.00
Jan. 1967	-	-	8	41.00	-	6	42.50	-	7	47.00	6	38.00
February	-	-	5	33.85	8	21	234.00	-	16	91.00	8	92.00
March	-	-	10	53.00	-	6	26.00	1	2	14.00	5	31.50
April	3	-	2	50.75	-	11	48.25	2	12	61.75	2	38.00
May	3	1	-	125.50	1	3	26.25	-	9	28.00	-	-
June	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	31.00	2	68.00
Total	7	1	70	\$590.15	10	103	\$804.50	3	116	\$804.90	59	\$527.60
											14	\$101.00

As recorded from the Fur Trader's Record Books
 Low take by last man - not active trapper - foremost ivory carver in Pond Inlet area

FIGURE 22 - Sketch Map Qaornak Camp, 1967



Qaornak Camp

Qaornak camp is located 53 miles west of Pond Inlet, on the west side of Eclipse Sound, near the entrance to Tremblay Sound. It is located on a narrow strip of beach area, between the water and rock outcrops which rise approximately 150 feet immediately to the west. The beach area consists of large gravel pebbles and is broken by rock outcrops. The anchorage is ample for small boats although exposed to wind and drift ice. A number of streams flow from the outcrop area, and the main source of freshwater is a stream 120 feet to the north of the camp site. The camp area consists of turf and exposed rock fragments.

Qaornak camp is located in an excellent resource area, extending from Satoot on the north to the Krag Hills and Krag plateau country on the south. Good sealing zones are available directly from the camp in Eclipse Sound, and Milne Inlet is a good utok area in the spring. It is located in a fringe zone for walrus and polar bear drifting down through Navy Board Inlet in the early summer. These are usually sighted in the Pitsitarfik Island area. Bearded seal are most abundant in the southwest corner of Eclipse Sound in August. Qaornak and Pitsitarfik Island are strategic locations for narwhal hunting since the herds come down through Navy Board Inlet to enter Tremblay Sound and Milne Inlet along the west side of Borden Peninsula. The Tay Sound lowland and Phillips Creek area provide better locations for caribou hunting than Borden Peninsula, both in terms of terrain conditions and numbers of caribou. Char fishing is carried out in July and August at the stream-mouth north of the camp. Formerly, fishing was carried on along the west side of Tremblay Sound in the Alpha River area. The Milne Inlet area is rated as a good trapping region by Pond Inlet Eskimos. Birds are of minor importance; Qaornukmiut hunt snow geese on Bylot Island in June; while travelling to Pond Inlet to trade. Ptarmigan are taken, when available.

There are three sod and wood qarmats with wood and canvas roofs. These have a west-east orientation with doors and polyethylene windows facing on Eclipse Sound. One unit was occupied by a single family in the winter of 1966-1967, another by a family unit and an old man, and the third unit by a transient family from the Igloolik district who returned there in the spring of 1967. A summer tent ground is located just north of the qarmats on a sand beach area close to the stream. In 1963 the remaining family unit at Qaornak had placed their tent just beyond the qarmat area, to the northwest and close to the rock outcrops for protection from the wind.

The qarmat area was littered with discarded equipment and refuse which had accumulated over the years. Two stages had been erected to protect equipment from dogs and keep it above the snow level in winter.

Prior to 1966, Qaornak was a large camp by contemporary standards in the Pond Inlet area. There were seven units, and one camp elder (a former camp boss). The age of the adult hunters ranged from young to middle age.

Leadership was nominal, but the group acted together in securing a new boat which would provide better transportation for hunting and travelling in the open-water season, for the group as a whole.

Plate 1



Qarmat at Qaornak, August, 1967

Plate 2



The Last Remaining Kayak in the Pond Inlet
Area, Qaornak, 1967

The adults had travelled and hunted extensively in the Pond Inlet and Igloodik areas, with some going into the Buchan Gulf and Admiralty Inlet region. There were closer affinities with the Iglulik Eskimos than other groups. Qaornak was formerly a stop-over site for trading groups from Igloodik.

Breakdown of the camp began in the mid-sixties when one of the older, better hunters took a position as a hostel parent in the settlement. This family unit had a long history of T.B. and family members had spent varying periods in outside hospitals. Subsequently, others of the group moved into Pond Inlet until, in 1967, only one family unit remained in the resource area. The future of Qaornak as an Eskimo camp remains doubtful. The present occupant is a land oriented Eskimo, who has inherited equipment left behind by the other Eskimos. The Eskimos, who have left Qaornak to settle in Pond Inlet, have varied opinions in respect to returning there. The former camp boss is living in a new house and working as a casual labourer, as well as hunting and trapping. One family head is employed by Northern Health Services. He stated that the white man had told him to stay in the settlement. The camp elder is too old to return to the camp, and was evacuated with T.B. in the winter of 1967-1968. The establishment of low-cost housing might have delayed the dissolution of this camp somewhat.

Former camp members have continued to trap in Milne Inlet, despite residence elsewhere, but their hunting activities are becoming re-oriented to areas closer to their place of habitation.

Qaornak camp, prior to 1967, was well-equipped, and it was here that major vestiges of the old subsistence economy were seen. For the purpose of this report, the abandonment of Qaornak, by Eskimos, has been so recent that the equipment owned in 1966 has been listed, and the composition of this camp discussed in general terms.

Equipment Owned by Qaornak Eskimos, 1966

The equipment listed below signifies equipment in use in the camp during 1966.

Camp Elder(now living in Pond Inlet with former camp boss)	-	.303 rifle, .22 rifle, 10 dogs, 1 fish net
Camp Boss (moved to Pond 1966)	-	skiff, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ H.P., .303 rifle, .243 rifle, .22 rifle, 40 traps, 12 dogs, 1 fish net, 1 seal net, 1 binoculars
K - a hunter (moved to Pond Inlet spring 1967)	-	skiff (purchased 1948), .303 rifle, .22, 17 dogs (two teams, one for himself and one for his son), 50 traps, 1 fish net, 2 seal nets, 1 telescope, 1 kayak
Brother of K (moved to Kuktujok spring 1967)		skiff (purchased 1962), 5 H.P. Johnson (1961), 10 H.P. Johnson (1963), .3030 rifle, .222 rifle, 12 traps, 10 dogs, 1 fish net

X - a hunter (remained - .303, .22, 10 H.P. Johnson, 1 fish net,
at Qaornak) 1 seal net

In addition, this camp has a whaleboat with an 8 H.P. Acadia engine, also an old skiff and one kayak. The skiff was badly smashed at Pond Inlet on a trading trip in August, 1967.

TABLE 52 - Fur and Sealskin Income, Qaornak Camp, 1966-1967

	Hunter		Hunter and Adult Son		Hunter (Igloodik) Eskimo returned to Igloodik district May 1967	
June, 1967	-	-	4 c.s.	\$ 11.50	-	-
May	1 c.s.	\$ 6.00	7 c.s.	44.00	1 c.s.	\$ 4.50
April	10 c.s.	66.25	5 w.f.	63.00	1 c.s.	2.00
			8 c.s.	28.25	1 c.s.	5.00
March	-	-	3 w.f.	44.00	1 w.f.	14.00
	-	-	-	-	1 c.s.	5.00
	-	-	-	-	2 c.s.	10.00
	-	-	-	-	1 c.s.	5.00
February	2 c.s.	8.55	4 w.f.	83.00	6 c.s.	40.00
	-	-	2 c.s.	10.70	-	-
January	1 w.f.	18.00	7 w.f.	116.00	1 w.f.	15.00
	1 c.s.	7.00	13 c.s.	80.00	2 c.s.	13.50
December	5 c.s.	37.50	5 w.f.	80.00	1 w.f.	15.00
			21 c.s.	129.50	4 c.s.	22.00
	-	-	-	-	2 c.s.	11.25
November	12 c.s.	81.50	1 c.s.	9.00	7 c.s.	50.00
October	1 c.s.	6.50	4 c.s.	28.30	6 c.s.	44.30
September	-	-	-	-	-	-
August	22 c.s.	198.00	38 c.s.	295.00	8 c.s.	60.00
	-	-	-	-	1 c.s.	7.50
July	4 c.s.	28.75	-	-	-	-

(Continued)

TABLE 52 - (continued)

Hunter			Hunter and Adult Son		Hunter (Igloodik) Eskimo returned to Igloodik district May 1967	
Totals for Period	1 w.f.	18.00	27 w.f.	386.00	3 w.f.	44.00
	56 c.s.	440.05	97 c.s.	626.25	43 c.s.	279.55
		\$458.05		\$1,012.25		\$323.55
Total Income \$1,793.85						

Game Take

The following is a sampling of the game take of Qaornak hunters hunting and trapping in the Milne Inlet, Koluktoo Bay area.

- Hunter (31), 2 dependents - 4 caribou September 1966 east side of Milne Inlet, 2 narwhal (1966), 75 ringed seals (1966-1967), 3 bearded seals, summer (1966), 10 fox (1966-1967).
- Hunter (75), no dependents receiving old age pension - 1 caribou April (1967), Milne Inlet area, 1 narwhal (1966).
- Hunter (38), 6 dependents including teen-age son - 10 caribou (1965-1966), 16 caribou (1966-1967), 5 narwhal (1966), 7 narwhal (1965) 104 ringed seal (1966-1967), 4 bearded seal (1966), 5 fox (1965-1966)
- Hunter (24), 2 dependents - 3 caribou (1966), 5 narwhal (1966), 65 seals (1965-1966), 1 polar bear (1966), 1 bearded seal (1966), 14 fox (1965-1966)

The statistics pertain to periods when the hunter trappers were still active in the camp.

As can be seen from the statistics, the amount of game taken by individual hunters was substantial. The acquisition of the whaleboat increased the mobility of this group during the open-water season, and enabled them to reach the side of Milne Inlet and the Koluktoo Bay area for late summer and early autumn caribou hunting.

Contemporary Qarmat

For the purposes of this report, it is worthwhile to describe the qarmat. A typical qarmat at Qaornak had an interior space of 180 square feet. The total area was divided into a sleeping platform at the rear, and a central floor well flanked on both sides by food and utensil platforms, on a level with, and joining the rear sleeping platform. The sleeping and food platforms were raised three feet above the floor wall, and were constructed of scrap wood and plywood. The interior walls consisted of a wood frame papered with newspapers and magazines. Natural lighting was afforded by polyethylene stretched above the entrance. The qarmat faced east, and the door was 5 feet high leading directly outside. In the winter, a snow anteroom, or series of anterooms, provided storage space for snow clothing and additional meat and blubber supplies. The outer walls of the qarmats consisted of rectangular sod blocks piled vertically. The roof consisted of a layer of Arctic white heather twigs over wood with an outer covering of scrap canvas. Heating consisted of two seal oil lamps on the food platforms adjoining the sleeping platform. Formerly, these were supplemented by a tin camp stove in which twigs, bits of blubber, and wood scraps were burned. Beneath the sleeping platform, supplementary storage space had been obtained by inserting wooden boxes in the gravel used to mount the platform. A series of wooden shelves lined the walls. The major drawback to the qarmat lay in the dampness engendered by wet boots and clothing particularly in the spring. Lack of space was also a serious drawback. The qarmat, as described here, is typical of qarmats seen at various camps, in the Foxe Basin area, 1957-1964, Admiralty Inlet, 1967, and finally in the Pond Inlet area, 1967. Where there was an abundance of scrap wood, as in the Foxe Basin areas close to the DEWline, the qarmat was frequently of a larger size with more than one compartment, if two or three families were occupants.

TABLE 53 - Fuel Oil Issued on Camp Welfare (in Gallons)*

Camp	Number of House Units	1966		1967		April	May
		Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March		
Nadlua	4	135	180	360	225	90	90
Kuktujok	4	170	170	180	45	90	45
Ivisat	2	65	90	90	45	-	-
Ipiarjuk	4	-	-	145	45	45	31

*270 gallons were issued to camps in October 1966

The above table illustrates the fuel oil issues to camps during the winter period. With the onset of cold weather fuel oil requirements sharply increase to a peak in January and February, and gradually decrease in the spring until the warmer months of April and May. During the freeze-up period, Eskimos in

Note: Qaornak received no fuel oil since no government housing had been provided to this camp and the Eskimos were using the old style qarmat with seal oil lamps.

the camps eke out oil supplies received in October until more can be hauled in 45 gallon drums by dogteam. For the Ipiarjukmiut this sometimes means waiting until January or February, until the floe-edge has reached Guy's Bight from the west.

Continued Occupation of Zone of Clyde River by the Akudnirmiut

In December 1961, there were six family units in Scott Inlet, two family units in Sam Ford Fiord, and seven family units in Eglinton Fiord. In January 1963 there were seven family units in Scott Inlet, six family units in Sam Ford Fiord, and eight family units in Eglinton Fiord.

In 1966 three camps were in existence north of Clyde. These were Naksakkoluk, Sam Ford Fiord (4 family units, 22 people). Akuliakatak, Eglinton Fiord (5 family units, 28 people), and Pingwasuk, south of Cape Eglinton (4 family units, 25 people). In January 1967 there were 18 family units or a total of 104 people in camps in the Clyde River area. This contrasts with the abandonment of the Buchan Gulf area by the Pond Inlet Eskimos in the forties and fifties. There are a number of factors involved in the continued existence of camps in the Clyde Fiord area. The camps are more accessible to Clyde, both in terms of boat and dogteam or ski-doo travel. Distances to Clyde are shorter than from the Buchan Gulf camps into Pond Inlet. Also, in recent years, there has been less large scale construction at Clyde River than at Pond Inlet. It may be assumed that settlement growth will result in a decline in outlying camps in the Clyde River area, similar to those experienced in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas.

Camps, Admiralty Inlet Area

The following is a delimitation of some of the camps in the Admiralty Inlet area supplied by Eskimo informants.

Far Western End of Berlinguet Inlet (southwest side)

Two families are reputed to have lived there with a total population of 10 people. Arane and his family moved to Pond Inlet in 1911, and died there, while Pahlork moved to Igloolik where he lived until his death. Descendants of both men still live in the two respective areas. The campsite consists of two stone houses and the terrain consists of flat sediments on limestone.

In terms of available resources, the campsite was a good one. Ringed seal were abundant. Polar bear could be hunted in Bernier Bay and there were caribou on the Berlinguet plains. Fox were reported to be abundant along the south shore of Berlinguet Inlet.

Small Lake (two miles West of mid-Saputing River)

The former campsite is located on a hillside on the southern shore of the lake and offers a vantage point for detaching caribou in the flat plains west of the river. The campsite remains consist of one stone house ruins and three or four old tent rings. Uyarak and his family, consisting of four persons, lived there. In 1915, he moved to Igloolik, and is still living there.

The advantages of this abandoned camp location were caribou, fish and fox.

A stone fish weir, or saputit, was operated in the river, and small fish could be taken in the lake. Abundant seal resources were available in Bell Bay to the north.

Two Hundred Feet (west of Saputing River)

This camp consisted of one family (3 persons) headed by Awa. The campsite consists of one stone house and garmat ruins. The major resources were caribou, fish and seals (in Bell Bay). The camp was abandoned in 1942 due to a scarcity of caribou and Awa moved to the Igloolik area.

Southeastern Shore of Bell Bay

The campsite consists of flat tabular limestone, mud and sandy sediments. It was occupied by Agluk and his family (7 persons), who abandoned it in 1951. The main resources were fish and ringed seals. Caribou were available in fair numbers. Fox were trapped in the winter. Food resources were augmented by ducks and, more rarely, snow geese. In 1951, Agluk moved north to a small point on the east shore of Bell Bay and, after one year residence, re-established at Koogalalek close to Arctic Bay.

Middle of Berlinguet Inlet

One family of four people lived at this location prior to its abandonment in 1912. The husband was a Repulse Bay Eskimo while the wife came from Igloolik. The campsite consists of rocks and gravel just behind a small ridge of hills. The site offered advantages in sealing, fishing and caribou hunting. Hunters could take seals at an open-water hole in January and could fish all year.

Bay on the Eastern Shore of Berlinguet Inlet

Three families totalling 15 persons occupied this site prior to its abandonment in 1950. The campsite is located along the south arm of a small glacier, 500 feet from the bay. The campsite is surrounded by boulders, fractured rock and bedrock out-croppings. Three stone house ruins are located on the campsite. The resource base consisted of ringed seals and fish, and to a lesser extent caribou. Fox trapping was good. Polar bear also occurred in this area moving east from Bernier Bay, but these have not been encountered for some years. Former residents of this camp now live at Avartok and Arctic Bay. Today caribou hunters from Arctic Bay on their way to the Gifford River stay over night in this locality.

Sermek is located (southeast corner of Easter Sound)

Sermek appears to have been the most important camp of the whole south of Admiralty Inlet area. Sixty-three persons were living at this location in 1918 consisting of 11 family units. The families subsequently relocated with families to the Igloolik area, one to Arctic Bay, one to Repulse Bay and one to Pond Inlet. There were particular resource advantages. Open-water occurred in Easter Sound throughout the winter and ringed seals could be taken in numbers. In the summer, bearded seals occurred in Jungersen Bay. August and September were the best caribou season when herds crossed Easter Sound on their annual movements. Today caribou are extremely scarce in this area. Arctic char were available throughout the year, by saputit fishing

and use of the leister (kakivak) in summer, and through the ice and ice-cracks in winter. Polar bear occurred in small numbers and a few are still seen from time to time. The area was considered a good fox area. Trading trips were carried out at Repulse Bay and Pond Inlet by the sled routes shown on the map. The majority of Eskimos moved south into the Igloolik area with only one family relocating northward in Admiralty Inlet. A circular house (15 feet in diameter) was used as a communal meeting place where feasts, games and singsongs were held during the winter.¹

Immerk (southwestern point of Easter Sound)

This site was abandoned in 1952 by five families. Immerk was a good location based on seal, Arctic char and caribou. Bearded seals, square flippers could be obtained in the late spring and summer while they were lying on ice pans. A few narwhal could be had along the southwest side of Admiralty Inlet.

Mayakshak (3 miles west of Immerk)

This site was an extension of Immerk and thought to be a better spot for seal hunting. Mayakshak was abandoned in 1920 by its single family unit.

Tererook located at (northeast corner of Easter Sound)

This location was briefly used by two families (13 people) in 1947, 1948-1949. Momevik is four miles from Shimik Island facing Jungersen Bay. The campsite is at the far end of a small bay on flat ground with a few roads. This camp was a favourable location for fish and seal but its north-facing situation and a large body of water resulted in reduced activity during high winds. It is one of the few contemporary campsites on Admiralty Inlet. Two families consisting of 11 people lived there briefly. The camp was abandoned in 1944.

Oopernavick

This was a ringed seal hunting and fishing location. The campsite is very flat and sandy, two families (13 people) lived here for a year until 1960. These were settlers from more southern camps.

Egloat (north of Jungerson Bay)

The two families from Oopernavick settled here for a year before breaking up with one family going to Avertok in 1961 and another family going to Iglorsiut Island.

Tikeradjuk (just south of Sunday Bay)

Two families (13 people) lived at this location which was considered a choice site for taking ringed seal and Arctic char. Bearded seals could be occasionally taken and white whale were seen in this area. Caribou were reported to be non-existent.

¹A similar structure was identified at Qarmat on Melville Peninsula and on the north Ooglit Islands by Iglulik Eskimos. One also exists at Nunguvik in Navy Board Inlet.

Iglorsuit Island (southwest-side)

This is an excellent location for ringed seals and close to the southern extension of white whales. It is of minor importance in terms of fish, but rated by Eskimos as an excellent fox area. Prior to its abandonment in 1962, it was occupied by two families (12 people). One family went to Arctic Bay and one family went to Egoalulik. The campsite is situated on sandstone. Two old house-frames and three boats are still at the site.

Mainland (behind Iglorsuit Island)

Occupied by four families (15 people) prior to its abandonment in 1957. Two families moved to Kakheark south of Giant's Castle, and two went to Egoalulik.

Kikertalik (north of Inugnait Hills and east of Iglorsuit Island)

This is reported by Eskimos to have been an excellent site for ringed seals. Fish were of minor importance. It was considered to be the best location for fox in all of Admiralty Inlet, and is considered a choice location by Arctic Bay trappers. It was abandoned in 1943-1944 by two families, one of which relocated in Kakheark the other going to Kakheark following hospitalization of the family head.

Arguartsiaarktalik (southeast from Sanerausak Island)

Only one family lived at this location. In 1958 it was abandoned and the family moved to Egoalulik. Ringed seal was the primary resource.

Eterveelook (northwest of Ebenezer Harbour)

This site had a resource base of ringed seal, fish and foxes. Two families lived there in stone houses for one year before moving on to other camps further north.

TABLE 54 - Eskimo Camps

Name of Camp	Date of Abandonment	Number of Families	Resource Base	Adverse Factors	Housing	Relocation
Arnakoaksak (northeast Davids Island)	1955	4 (19 people)	seal, fish, good until January and February	seasonal, scarcity of food due to poor hunting	stone houses	Four Pangnirtung families, two are still in Admiralty Inlet, one at Koogalalek, one at Arctic Bay, one family is in Pangnirtung, one family is in Grise Fiord.
Kakheark (5 miles south of Giants Castle)	1965 & 1966	3 (16 people)	excellent narwhal and beluga, access to overland route across Brodeur to Prince Regent Inlet	north-south sweep of wind, no sheltered anchorage	3 stone & wood houses	One family died there of influenza. One family moved to Egalulik, one family relocated in Pond Inlet.
Equalulik, just north of Equalulik River	1967	1 (from Kakheark)	good fish and seal location	no particular disadvantages but regarded as an in-between location	sod and gravel	Family relocated Arctic Bay.
Poolaktayook	1960	1 (4 people)	excellent location narwhal, walrus, seal and some fox	high winds in summer	-	Family moved to Pond Inlet area. Now living Kutujok.
Senaseoovik (northwest side of entrance at Elivin Inlet	1941	2	good location in terms of sea mammals	high winds in summer	-	Family relocated to Avartok and Eyerveelook.

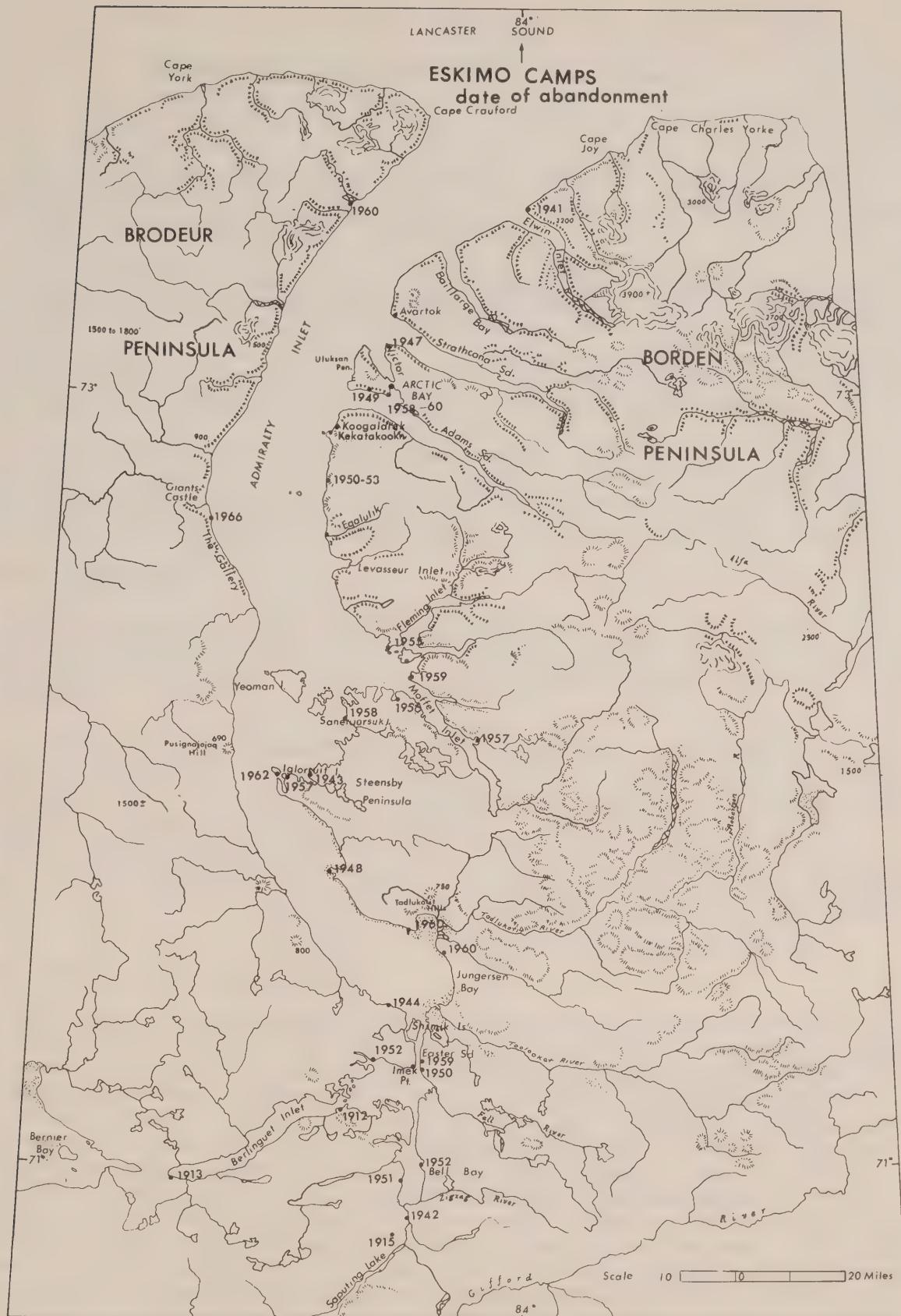
(Continued)

TABLE 54 - (continued)

Name of Camp	Date of Abandonment	Number of Families	Resource Base	Adverse Factors	Housing	Relocation
Peognerk (4 miles north of Egoalulik River)	1950 & 1953	2 (5 people)	excellent sea mammal location	-	stone housing	Two Pangnirtung families, one presently in Arctic Bay, one returned to Pangnirtung.
Koogalalek	still occupied	seal hunting location 15 miles from Arctic Bay	-	-	4 government houses, 1 shack used as warehouse, 1 tent frame	Eight family units.
Kootoonerk (south side Uluksan Peninsula)	1949	1 (6 people)	-	-	-	-
Uluksan	1958-1960	3	seal hunting location still used as seasonal camp in July and August by Arctic Bay people	-	-	-

Other camps have been in existence notably those at McBean Bay and in Bernier Bay. Many factors have been involved in a decline of camps in the Admiralty Inlet area. In the early part of the twentieth century the economy was based partly on caribou and fish were of major importance. Until 1936, trading posts were located some distance away, and there was a pattern of annual spring trading trips to replace a diminution of trade goods (tea, sugar ammunition) in late winter and early spring. There was little to tie people to one location, and a spirit of adventure led many Eskimos to try numerous hunting localities. Incidents of prolonged poor weather and food scarcity were the ultimate determinant of camp locations. In contemporary terms, a discussion of camp locations is of some interest, since there is little evidence that the resource base has drastically changed. The relative mobility of the population following 1936 is partly due to the mixed nature of the Eskimo population, and the seeking out of advantageous trapping and hunting locations by the Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung Eskimos. Iglulik and Pond Inlet area Eskimos joined various Eskimo groups in Admiralty Inlet for varied periods of time. The southern half of Admiralty Inlet from Yeoman Island southward is a relatively rich resource area in terms of a modified subsistence economy or a settlement based on resource harvesting projects. In an age when airlifts are becoming competitive with sea-lifts in terms of both costs and efficiency, it is not unrealistic to contemplate relocation of Eskimos to this zone. The only current advantage offered by Arctic Bay is its proximity to the Texas Gulf and Sulphur property in Strathcona Sound.

FIGURE 23 - Eskimo Camp Sites, Admiralty Inlet Area



Chapter VI - The Settlement of Pond Inlet

The settlement of Pond Inlet ($72^{\circ} 43'N$ - $77^{\circ} 30'W$) extends 4,500' in a north-south direction on Eclipse Sound. In December, 1967, the population consisted of 347 Eskimos and 17 non-Eskimos.

The major controls in expansion of the Pond Inlet settlement have been topographical with a resulting elongated settlement pattern. The Hudson's Bay Company, R.C.M.P. and Missions occupy the major part of the settled area in the southern portion of the settlement. The R.C.M.P., Hudson's Bay Company and Missions occupy the best land in terms of level building sites and access to the beaches by virtue of establishment at Pond Inlet in the 1920's.

East of the settlement area, contour levels increase rapidly to the 150 foot level and the southern part of the settlement is bordered by an embankment on the east approximately 110 feet in height. In the northern part of the settlement, rock outcrops are exposed east of the main settlement area.

Surface Conditions

Surface conditions in the settlement vary from well grassed areas in the southern half of the settlement to rock outcrops alternating with sorted sands and gravels covered with lichens and mosses in the northeastern part of the settlement.

Permafrost occurs at varying distances below the surface ranging from 14 inches to 26 inches. Subsurface materials range from and/or gravel to grey-brown loams below an upper layer of moss or moss and humus ranging to a depth of from 3-14 inches. Drainage conditions are poor or imperfect in the southern half of the settlement between the 15' and 50' contour level or the area on which buildings are situated. In the northern half of the settlement area buildings are located about the 45' contour level on a well drained sandy area.

Water Depths Off The Settlement

Soundings off the settlement show a uniform slope of about five per cent reaching a depth of 20-30 fathoms about a mile offshore. At about two miles offshore the depth is nowhere less than 70 fathoms deepening thereafter to 300 fathoms or more. Ships have a clear approach to anchorage from any direction. There are two tides a day with a range of four to five feet and current of five to seven knots. The anchorage off the settlement provides good shelter against prevailing southeast winds. **However**, with a westerly wind blowing from Eclipse Sound, ships anchored at the settlement are on a leeward shore. No docking facilities exist and there is little demand for any as all small craft including light sea planes may be beached. The sandy shore extending 1,200 feet on a north-south basis with its small tidal range and general absence of large boulders allows beaching and easy launching at any time.

Ships Anchorages

Ships anchor one quarter of a mile straight west of the settlement. Freight is barged to a sandy beach which extends 1,200 yards on a northeast, southwest direction. The beach is exposed to west and northwest winds. There are few rocks on the beach area. In September, 1967, a severe storm damaged a number of boats and destroyed a trap boat anchored at the north end of the settlement. A steel dumb barge was washed offshore but was rescued and tied with a cable onshore. Canoes and whaleboats are beached well above the water line to offset the danger from storms and high winds rising in the west and northwest. The Salmon River mouth offers protective anchorage for whaleboats and Peterheads at a distance of two miles south of the main settlement.

Airstrips, Pond Inlet

There is a land strip behind the settlement, 1,600 feet in length having a northwest-southeast orientation with a free approach from either direction. Some difficulty is experienced in using this strip due to soil conditions during the summer period. It can be used by oversized wheel-equipped Beavers or a standard Otter lightly loaded. The total cost of a 300 foot dirt landing strip at Pond Inlet has been estimated at \$133,000. The Department of Transport conducted ground surveys in August, 1967. Bore tests were made to assess sub-surface conditions.

An ice strip is maintained in the winter in front of the settlement. There is an unobstructed approach from north, south or west. The average ice depth is sixty inches during the winter. The ice strip (2,100') can be used by a D.C-3 or ski-equipped Otter until June 1st for the D.C-3 and June 15th for the Otter. Landings can then be transferred to the beach strip in the case of a single or twin Otter on oversized wheels.

During the summer of 1967, Atlas Aviation made use of a beach strip one mile south of the settlement with a north-northeast, south-southwest orientation extending for approximately 1,000 feet. Approaches must be made from the southwest as the northern end of the strip lies along a 100 foot embankment. There is a footpath connecting the settlement with the beach strip. The usual method of transportation between settlements and airstrips is by canoe.

Roads

A single land road extends through the settlement and is expanded in the Eskimo housing area to provide access to all houses. All major facilities and institutions are accessible by road. In the southern part of the settlement gravel surfacing is lacking and the road becomes badly rutted during spring thaws. In 1966, a wooden bridge adequate for vehicles was built across a stream in the central settlement area connecting the northern sector of the settlement with the administrative and other agencies in the southern part of the settlement.

Communications

In 1965, the Bell Telephone radio communication system was extended to Pond Inlet, providing a telephone link with other Arctic communities and southern centers. Telephone links are maintained between various organizations and agencies. A small number of employed Eskimos also have telephones.

Telecommunications

Telegrams may be sent through the Hudson's Bay Company at established rates. The same applies to Arctic Bay.

Water Supply

In summer, water is obtained from a stream draining through the center of the community. A number of catch basins are located along this stream source. In winter, water is obtained either from icebergs grounded near the settlement or from a freshwater lake seven miles east of the settlement. A consultant from H.G. Acres and Company in April, 1965, recommended that reservoir storage be constructed with a capacity of 924,000 gallons to provide for water requirements in the settlement for an eight-month period. This was based on a population of 40 non-Eskimos and 140 Eskimos. The population of Pond Inlet in January 1967 consisted of 17 non-Eskimos and 229 Eskimos.¹

Power

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is the major distributor of power in the community. Power is supplied from two 150 K.W. generators operated on diesel fuel. Electricity is 12 cents a K.W.H. with a \$2.00 monthly minimum charge. A connection charge of \$10.00 is made for hook-up to the power supply.

Fuel

Two bulk oil storage tanks with a capacity of 8,000 bbls. (360,000 gal.) are owned by the Department and provide fuel oil to all agencies as well as the Eskimo rental housing.

Garbage and Water Supply

The garbage and water supply is handled by two Eskimos under a municipal services agreement. They use Departmental equipment for carrying out these services. In 1967, the Community Council decided on the establishment of a land dump where garbage and refuse could be dumped and burned periodically rather than placed on the sea-ice directly in front of the settlement.

Freezer

A 24,000 pound capacity freezer is located in the southern part of the community. This provides facilities for non-Eskimos who wish to store frozen meats or vegetables in addition to storage facilities for use by Eskimos. Individual bins are used for storing fish and caribou meat. There are scattered shacks along the beach areas for the storage of seal meat and blubber. There are storage problems arising out of an increasing need by Eskimos in the settlement for cold storage to preserve both country and store purchased foods for later use.

¹Report - Site Investigation and Town Planning, Pond Inlet, N.W.T., H.G. Acres & Company, Consulting Engineers, April 1965, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Fuel Oil Costs

Fuel oil costs are 35.9 cents a gallon. The price is 37.9 cents a gallon delivered to Northern Health Services and R.C.M.P. Fuel oil is 38.89 cents a gallon for non-government agencies such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Missions.

TABLE 55 - Monthly Fuel Oil and Diesel Fuel Consumption,
Pond Inlet, April 1966 to November 1967

Month	Fuel Oil (in gallons)	Diesel Oil (in gallons)	Month	Fuel Oil (in gallons)	Diesel Oil (in gallons)
April	4,067	1,350	February	20,574	3,227
May	4,052	1,383	March	-	-
June	3,884	1,421	April	10,600	1,950
July	2,409	1,426	May	5,050	1,320
August	5,773	1,652	June	5,450	1,470
September	4,035	1,482	July	1,620	1,660
October	10,667	1,779	August	7,520	2,520
November	10,906	1,758	September	10,720	4,060
December	20,375	4,248	October	11,710	1,985
January	19,921	3,410	November	16,920	4,715

Consumption rates for fuel oil sharply increase with the onset of cold weather.

TABLE 56 - Fuel Oil Annual Consumption, 1965 to 1967

	Year	Consumption
Stove oil	1965-1966	95,000 gallons (actual)
	1966-1967	120,000 gallons (actual)
	1967-1968	185,000 gallons (estimated)
Diesel generators	1965-1966	25,000 (actual)
	1966-1967	40,000 (actual)
	1967-1968	50,000 (estimated)
D.I.A.N.D. vehicles	1965-1966	5,000 (actual)
	1966-1967	6,000 (actual)
	1967-1968	6,000 (estimated)

TABLE 57 - Organizations in the Community, 1967

Type	Function	Non-Eskimo Population
H.B.C.	Retail establishment	Manager and clerk
R.C.M.P.	Game ordinances, law enforcement, vital statistics	Officer in charge, 4 dependents, constable (single)

(Continued)

TABLE 57 - (continued)

Type	Function	Non-Eskimo Population
D.I.A.N.D.	Education facilities, welfare, housing for Eskimos, provision of community services	Area Administrator - 4 dependents, Clerk - single, Mechanic - single, Teachers - 3 single, one married couple
Northern Health Services	Medical facilities	Nurses - 2 single
Anglican Mission	-	Missionary - 4 dependents
Oblate Mission	-	Missionary
Atlas Aviation	Twice monthly scheduled service from Resolute	Local representative D.I.A.N.D. mechanics
Bell Telephone	Local switchboard operator	Wife of R.C.M.P. There is also a Eskimo repairman who deals with simple maintenance problems - \$20.00 a month

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

In a functional sense, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development plays a predominant role in the community through its budget and the diversity of its functions. Its staff is the largest of any organization in the community. The Department has expanded rapidly in the settlement since 1960. The following buildings have been constructed in the community for administrative, educational and maintenance purposes.

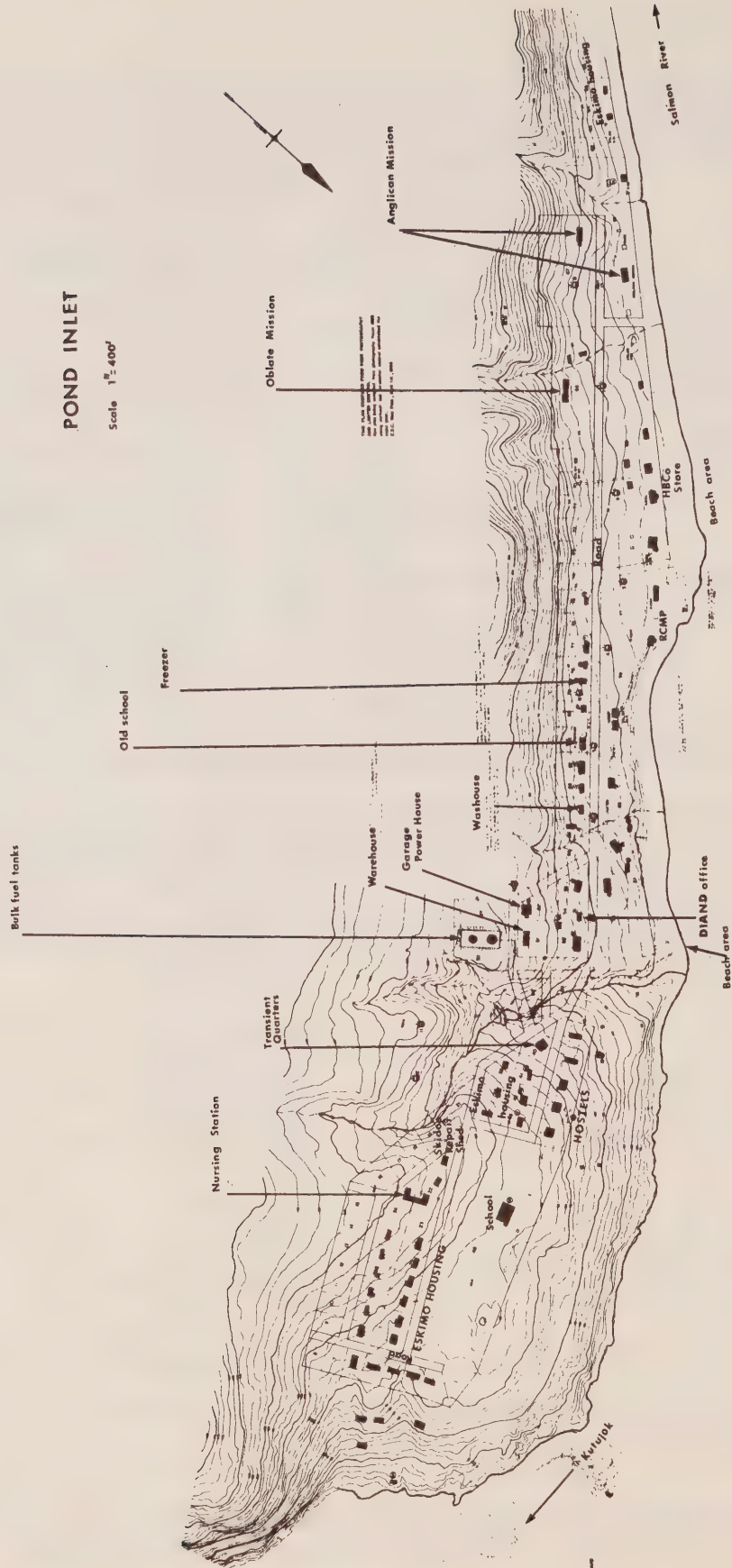
TABLE 58 - D.I.A.N.D. Buildings

Building Type	Year Completed	Building Type	Year Completed
Office	1966	School	2 rooms 1962 (2 rooms 1966)
Warehouse	1966	Hostels	1966
Power plant	1962 (addition 1967)	Bulk oil storage tank	1963 and 1966
Freezer	1963	Transient quarters (8 bed)	1966

Equipment

The Department possesses a number of vehicles of various types used in construction and haulage. These are rented or loaned to other agencies on an exchange basis.

FIGURE 24 - Pond Inlet, Settlement Site Plan, 1967



Equipment, Pond Inlet 1967

The following equipment was listed: G.M.C. 5 T Model C/960 (1966), Hough International Diesel H.30 (1966), Case tractor 1000 D (1964), Bombardier (1963), Nodwell tanker Model R.N. 75, gas (1964), Bombardier, poor operational state (1963), ski-doo. With the exception of ski-does, the other agencies in the settlement are without wheeled or track equipment.

R.C.M.P.

The R.C.M.P. detachment in Pond Inlet consists of two officers and a special constable. The special constable is a leader in the Eskimo community and the owner of a longliner, a prestige symbol. The R.C.M.P. at Pond Inlet are responsible for administration of the game ordinances, the maintenance of law and order and a multitude of other duties of varying importance. Maintenance of law and order is of minor significance in small northern communities such as Pond Inlet where crime is non-existent among the Eskimo segment of the community. The school principal is the appointed magistrate in the community.

A large number of dogs (31) are maintained but extensive dogteam patrols appear to have become a thing of the past. Radio contact is maintained with Arctic Bay, Clyde River, Resolute, Grise Fiord and Igloolik. There is currently an R.C.M.P. detachment at Igloolik which was established in 1964. The R.C.M.P. also maintain the postal services. Barring the provision of minor amounts of casual labour used in freighting and hunting of dog food, there is relatively little employment of the local population. Dog control, a duty considered noxious by non-Eskimos and incompatible to other functions, is handled by a local Eskimo dog officer, who receives a monthly stipend of \$65.00 from the Community Council funds. He was severely criticized by other Eskimos for peremptorily shooting loose sled dogs without first notifying the owners. Due to the extended nature of the settlement, a single community dog corral is unfeasible.

Coal mining was discontinued in 1963. In 1967, the R.C.M.P. detachment at Pond Inlet (for various reasons) was not an active participant in community affairs. This is not the case in other communities where they take an active part in community councils and organized recreation.

Nursing Station, Pond Inlet

Prior to September 19, 1966, medical facilities in the Pond Inlet community consisted of a local dispensary operated by the R.C.M.P. in addition to their regular duties.

The R.C.M.P. handled the following medical cases: 1962 (251 cases), 1963 (456 cases) 1964 (500 cases), 1965 (500 cases). Dispensary supplies were supplied by Northern Health Services of the Department of Health and Welfare.

Following the establishment of school facilities and increased housing for Eskimos in the settlement, pressures increased on existing facilities. For example, in 1966 the R.C.M.P. reported handling 1,091 cases prior to September 19, 1966.

The nursing station at Pond Inlet consists of three trailer units divided into dispensary and four bed hospital unit, storage unit, and living quarters

for the nurses in charge. In terms of location it is centrally located for Eskimos living in the main housing sector in the north-eastern part of the settlement. The nursing station is linked to other organizations and agencies within the community by telephone. The establishment of a nursing station has proved to be of an enormous benefit to a small Eskimo community exposed to a variety of illnesses through increased accessibility. In 1967, the Pond Inlet area Eskimos were subject to five epidemics. The major epidemics were influenza in May and June and measles in August and September. The nurses were able to assist the lay dispenser at Arctic Bay through radio telephone communication and emergency trips to the settlement.

At the local level, the nurses have limited facilities for visiting outlying camps and are dependent on other agencies and organizations for transportation. Messages can be transmitted to the camps but information can be obtained only from visitors coming into Pond Inlet from the camps. During epidemics, some difficulties are encountered in getting Eskimos to realize the need for quarantine. The abandonment of camps, which is occurring in the Pond Inlet area, will largely reduce the problem of coping with medical emergencies in outlying areas. Medical evacuations are routed through Resolute to Frobisher Bay or Montreal. Medical emergencies are routed directly to Frobisher Bay to overcome delays.

Of the 31 evacuations from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in 1966, 15 T.B. cases were evacuated for treatment elsewhere. The number of T.B. cases has increased in recent years. This will be counteracted by earlier detection and treatment and improved housing conditions. The nursing station at Pond Inlet is equipped with an X-ray unit. Co-operation between organizations and agencies exists (in handling evacuations) where escort duty is required in transferring patients to other treatment centers. One of the nursing staff accompanies patients who require continuous care en route.

An extensive immunization program (smallpox, polio, B.C.G. vaccinations, etc.) was carried out during the year. The school was visited periodically during the school term and homes throughout the community from time to time. The facilities at Pond Inlet are augmented by supplementary X-ray surveys carried out by plane in the spring months, periodic visits by dentists and the annual "C.D. Howe" patrol in August.

TABLE 59 - Common Ailments Treated at the Pond Inlet Nursing Station,
January 1 to November 30, 1967^x

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
Common cold and influenza.	16	8	20	30	46	240	6	27	27	10	14
Bronchitis and other respiratory diseases.	-	20	15	3	57	10	6	8	46	2	2
Gastrointestinal conditions.	5	6	7	13	19	17	17	24	14	9	24
Malnutrition, anaemia, underweight.	-	2	4	10	-	5	9	1	12	6	1
Breast conditions.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Gynecological conditions.	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	2	2
Prematurity.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Other complications of pregnancy.	-	2	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	3
Fractures, dislocations.	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cuts, bruises, sprains.	3	20	9	5	4	2	9	6	6	6	4
Other accidents, (inc.burns).	3	7	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	2	4
Orthopedic conditions (excluding accidents).	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	1	-
Refractive errors.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other eye conditions.	6	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	5	6
Ear, nose, throat conditions.	9	18	11	14	6	19	9	18	33	41	20
Skin conditions.	10	30	4	2	7	8	3	6	5	10	12
Infestations.	-	8	20	-	1	-	-	-	10	15	4
Dental conditions.	3	2	1	3	1	-	77	-	2	2	3
Conditions of nervous system.	-	1	-	1	8	2	3	5	4	1	3
Arthritis and rheumatism.	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cardiovascular conditions.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Diabetes Mellitus.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- 68 All other	-	13	8	17	9	15	3	5	2	6	1

^x Source: Northern Health Services

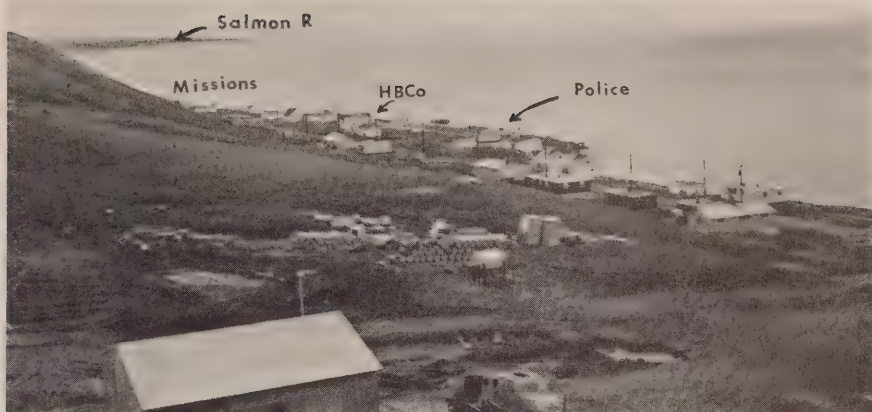
TABLE 60 -

In-Service and Out-Service Statistics,
Pond Inlet Nursing Station, 1967

	ITEM	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV
Services Provided in Homes	1. Total Visits to Homes.....	49	74	134	147	146	431	78	146	17	137	96
	2. Infants Under One Year.....	22	13	29	42	44	75	28	48	9	44	32
	3. Children - (1-5 Years)	42	100	162	215	173	424	80	204		192	135
	4. Children - (6 - 16 Years)	27	5	31	44	47	527	68	154	7	48	22
	5. Adults - (17 Years and over).....	94	94	201	237	238	803	112	257	26	210	141
	6. Total Persons Helped - (2 - 5 Inc.)..	185	212	423	538	502	1829	288	663	42	494	330
	7. Prenatal Care and Instruction.....	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	6
	8. Postpartum Care and Instruction	3	—	—	1	—	7	4	—	6	—	—
	9. Sick Persons Visited.....	23	9	5	18	24	948	5	36	16	7	8
	10. T.B. Cases and Contacts Followed..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—
Services Provided At Office, Clinic, Hospital, School	11. Total Visits to Schools.....	2	6	5	5	4	—	—	—	—	3	1
	12. Infants Under One Year.....	9	49	57	51	57	38	48	51	69	69	60
	13. Children - (1 - 5 Years)	449	143	196	222	165	134	126	196	99	216	147
	14. Children - (6 - 16 Years)	54	81	112	78	92	43	139	86	52	167	101
	15. Adults - (17 Years and over).....	37	101	117	127	80	94	199	226	106	155	99
	16. Total Persons Helped - (12 - 15 Inc.)	549	374	482	478	398	209	512	559	326	607	407
	17. Prenatal Care and Instruction	—	16	17	7	16	10	10	10	7	12	9
	18. Postpartum Care and Instruction	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	19. Sick Persons who Visited.....	83	9	13	33	54	112	12	107	87	21	33
	20. T.B. Cases and Contacts Followed...	—	—	44	—	3	—	10	13	—	7	15

Source: Northern Health Services

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Plate 3



Southern Part of Pond Inlet Settlement, August, 1967

Plate 4



Part of the Northern Area of the Pond Inlet Settlement, August, 1967

Liaison is maintained between welfare representatives and health authorities in providing for patients who have returned from hospital. The Area Administrator of the Department of Indian Affairs at Pond Inlet and the acting Area Administrator at Arctic Bay attempt to meet the problems arising from the return of patients (needs for supplementary rations, clothing, etc.) in consultation with the nurses. The nurses bring to the attention of local authorities, health conditions which can be remedied through projects of various types (spring clean-ups, improved water supply, hunting and fishing projects to improve food consumption patterns, etc.).

Between August 1, 1966 and April 29, 1967, twenty-one males and twenty-five

females had been admitted to hospitals elsewhere. Thirteen were T.B. cases. The remainder had a variety of illnesses.

Education

Initial attempts to provide education for Eskimo children were made by the Anglican mission and classes were held as early as 1949, being attended by the small number of children in the settlement and, infrequently, by camp children who accompanied their parents into the settlement on trading trips. Support was provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development through the provision of supplies such as text books and other **classroom materials** shipped on the "C.D. Howe". The need for more improved educational facilities had been pointed out by the R.C.M.P., Hudson's Bay Company and Missions during the 1940's. In March 1960, there were 21 regular pupils attending a school operated from 2:30 to 5:00 p.m. The average daily attendance was 99.47 with a gross attendance of 452.

Camp Teaching

During the period 1961-1964, attempts were made to carry out camp teaching programs in the Pond Inlet area. One of the major difficulties encountered was in setting up continuing programs. Lack of teaching space in the camps proved to be another difficulty. The provision of hostels in the settlement largely eliminated the need for programs of this type. The in-movement of families into the settlement also resulted in the cessation of some nearby camps. In some cases, families moved in rather than put children in hostels. Camps such as Kuktujok are close enough for parents to maintain close contact with their children. Others such as Qaornak and Nadlua are too distant and the separation of children from their parents may be counted as one of the factors in the decline of outlying camps. In 1967, a short-term camp school was held at Nadlua in July. This was attended by children who had been in the hostels as well as children not yet attending school. The short-term program of two weeks was largely ineffective due to program and short duration. It was an attempt of the Area Administrator to delay the ultimate dissolution of this camp.

An extensive area has been left to the east of the school for playground facilities. A four-classroom school was in operation by 1967. A two-classroom school was completed in 1962 and an additional two rooms were added in 1966. In 1967, three twelve-bed hostels were in operation. These are immediately adjacent to the school.

The Pond Inlet school (a four room unit) is well-equipped. One classroom also serves as a gymnasium. The school has a library, a kitchen, and office space. During the 1966-1967 term, there were four teachers and a classroom assistant. Two of the teachers had university degrees as well as teacher training. The principal and his wife have taught elsewhere in the Arctic (Southampton Island and Eskimo Point). The teachers are dependent on the Eskimo classroom assistant in communicating with the parents of the school children.

The children receive a morning lunch break of vitamized biscuits and cocoa.

TABLE 61 - Education Statistics, Pond Inlet, 1964-1967

Year	No. of Teachers	No. of Classes	Students		Grade Dispersion					
			M	F	1	2	3	4	5	6
1964-1965	3	3	34	20	22	14	14	3	-	-
1965-1966	3	3	38	29	26	19	8	10	3	1
1966-1967	3	3	43	42	25	24	21	15	-	-

Attendance records indicate a high percentage attendance (95 per cent) except during periods when illness reaches epidemic proportions. Then the school is usually closed. In the spring, boys are absent on seal hunting trips with their fathers.

Hostel Children

Hostel children are fed non-local foods with minor additions of country food during the school term. Some attempts have been made to provide a source of supply of country food for use in the hostels through purchases of country food (seal meat and fish) by the Department. This could be expanded through better organization. Hostel parents make available country food through their own hunting efforts. In 1967-1968 term there were 30 children enrolled in the hostels. These reduced the demand for country food during the school term. While the population has grown, the demand for country food has been offset by the establishment of hostels and the fact that 13 families in permanent forms of employment use rations. In terms of resource harvesting, settlement growth may effect a decline in over-all resource harvesting. While it seems unlikely that wage employment will increase radically, continuous efforts must be made to have the settlement population maintain or expand existing resource harvesting.

Hostel Residents

There were 28 hostel residents during the 1966-1967 school term at Pond Inlet drawn from camps in the Pond Inlet area. A total of 2,244 pupil days were spent in hostel residences. The number of hostel children may be expected to rapidly decline in line with the decline in camps. In 1966-1967, there were fourteen males and fourteen female students in hostels for a total of 2,244 pupil days in residence. In 1967-1968 there were thirty hostel residents. Of this group three had spent four years in hostels, six had been in hostel three years and one for two years and the remainder one year or less.

Hostels

The following are details in respect to the cost of annual operating of small hostels in the settlement of Pond Inlet.

TABLE 62 - Hostel 1, Operating Costs

Month	In Supervisor Salaries (dollars)	Rations (dollars)	Electricity (dollars)	Heating (dollars)	Water (dollars)	Garbage (dollars)	Building (dollars)	Maintenance (dollars)
September	150.00	345.00	142.32	49.54	180.00	-	10.00	884.86
October	150.00	345.00	85.34	96.57	180.00	-	10.00	874.91
November	150.00	345.00	128.02	98.00	180.00	-	10.00	919.02
December	150.00	345.00	213.36	71.49	180.00	-	10.00	987.85
January	150.00	345.00	112.46	02.98	180.00	-	10.00	898.44
February	150.00	345.00	84.35	67.49	180.00	-	10.00	844.84
March	150.00	345.00	84.35	92.62	180.00	-	10.00	869.97
April	150.00	345.00	60.72	32.67	180.00	-	10.00	786.39
May	150.00	345.00	60.72	73.24	180.00	-	10.00	826.96
June	150.00	345.00	30.36	-	-	-	10.00	543.36

TABLE 63 - Hostel 2, Operating Costs

Month	In Supervisor Salaries (dollars)	Rations (dollars)	Electricity (dollars)	Heating (dollars)	Water (dollars)	Garbage (dollars)	Building (dollars)	Maintenance (dollars)
September	150.00	345.00	177.84	42.72	180.00	-	10.00	913.56
October	150.00	345.00	58.94	63.18	180.00	-	10.00	815.12
November	150.00	345.00	88.42	77.19	180.00	-	10.00	858.61
December	150.00	345.00	197.36	64.26	180.00	-	10.00	904.62
January	150.00	345.00	149.86	98.37	180.00	-	10.00	941.23
February	150.00	345.00	112.39	69.28	180.00	-	10.00	874.67
March	150.00	345.00	112.39	92.98	180.00	-	10.00	898.37
April	150.00	345.00	130.80	32.67	180.00	-	10.00	856.47
May	150.00	345.00	130.80	73.24	180.00	-	10.00	897.04
June	150.00	345.00	65.40	35.18	180.00	-	10.00	613.58

Some examples are available to show the high cost of establishing the physical plant necessary for the administrative, education and welfare programs of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at Pond Inlet. Costs involved in completing the following buildings were: a four classroom school \$599,604; an office and transient quarters, \$39,000.00; a warehouse, \$73,100.00; three 12 pupil hostels, \$227,796.40; a three-bedroom house for staff, \$46,412.28.

Pond Inlet Students at Churchill School

The Churchill school is located in Fort Churchill, Manitoba. It first received students from Pond Inlet in 1965. The school is a large complex accommodating children from the Keewatin and Baffin Island region. The purpose of the school is academic upgrading and preparation through general vocational courses for trade and apprenticeship programs. The boys are given courses in mechanics, carpentry, metal work, electrical engineering and plumbing. The girls are given courses in home-making, home economics, hair dressing, typing and shorthand, nurses' aides, clerical work and food services. Children receive clothing, a spending allowance (one dollar per week). Both academic studies and recreation are organized. The Churchill school provides further training for children who for reasons of age and ability have proceeded beyond the opportunities available in the home community. Students who return to their home communities for the summer find it difficult to accept the lack of routine in the home community. The boys manage to pick up short-period casual jobs, but the girls are left to their own devices. A survey of Churchill and non-Churchill students in their teens in the Pond Inlet community produced the following results: (p. 132).

Four students, one girl and three boys, were scheduled to return to the Churchill Vocational School for the 1967-1968 term. One girl remained home on her parents wishes in order to assist her mother. While there is an obvious time gap with respect to age of students and continued education, considerable importance should be given to encouraging these students to continue into higher training.

Adult Education Programs

Three types of adult education courses were offered at Pond Inlet in the winter of 1966-1967. The instructors were members of the teaching staff. Courses were offered in the English Language (divided into two categories, beginners and elementary). These classes attracted a wide age range from 17 years to 50 years of age. Twenty classes were held in each of the classes with a class being given once weekly and lasting for two hours. The total number of pupils was thirty (12 males and 18 females). The average attendance was reported to be twenty-five pupils. Interest was maintained through the duration of the course with progress being noted chiefly among the younger adults with some educational background.

A course was also offered in handling money and making change. This attracted 39 adults (16 males and 23 females). Twenty classes of one hour each were given from October 20 to April 6, 1967. Average attendance at classes was reported to be 20 persons. Some difficulties were experienced with course materials, these being immature and failing to meet the needs of the pupils. The pupils found difficulty in grasping money concepts.

The table below is a sampling of teenagers with more extensive exposure to education than others who have become involved in the modified subsistence economy.

TABLE 64 - Sampling of Teenagers, Pond Inlet

Sex	Age	Years School	Where	Grade	Trips Elsewhere	Employment	Aspirations
M	17	1961-1967	Pond Inlet	7	Arctic Bay (plane) Resolute (plane)	Radio announcer	Pond Mechanic
F	23	none	Nurses' aid 1963 Montreal	-	Montreal (plane)	Casual labour nursing station	Nurse, housekeeper, air stewardess
M	19	1963-1965	Pond Inlet, Churchill	5-6	Igloolik (plane)	Worked at sea-lift	Mechanic, pilot
F	16	1963-1964	Pond Inlet	1 & 2	-	-	Housekeeper, wife, nurse
F	18	1963-1966	Pond Inlet, Churchill	6	Hamilton, Kingston Ottawa, Montreal	Housekeeping, baby sitting	Nurse, secretary, air stewardess
F	16	1963-1967	Pond Inlet, Churchill	6	Montreal, Igloolik	-	Wants to live in north
M	15	1962-1967	Pond Inlet	4	-	Casual labour, D.I.A.N.D., Pond Inlet	-
F	17	1964-1966	Pond Inlet	3-4	Toronto, Hamilton, Igloolik, Resolute	-	Wants to live in Pond Inlet
F	18	1962-1967	Pond Inlet, Churchill	5	Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, Kingston	Radio station, Pond Inlet	Wants to live in Ottawa have job there
F	20	1965-1966	Pond Inlet	5-6	Ottawa, Montreal, Brockville, Kingston, Frobisher Bay, Resolute, Pangnirtung	Radio station, Pond Inlet housekeeper	Now married to non- Eskimo and living in Vancouver

The following is a sampling of the teenage and younger age group males in Pond Inlet. It is interesting to note that nine out of ten signified a willingness to work at Baffin Land Iron Mines at Mary River.

TABLE 65 - Sampling of Teenagers and Young Males, Pond Inlet

Age	Marital Status	Formal Education	Trips Elsewhere	Employment Record	Aspirations	Willing to work at Baffin Land Iron Mines
18	S	one	Arctic Bay, Igloolik	Casual labour, sea-lift	Heavy equipment course	Yes
18	S	4 years - Grade 3	Igloolik	" " "	" " "	"
18	-	none	none	Sea-lift	" " "	"
23	S	2 years - Grade 8?	Arctic Bay, Igloolik, Clyde River, Resolute, Frobisher Bay, Ottawa, Montreal	D.I.A.N.D., H.E. operator	Mechanic course	"
18	M	2 months (camp teaching)	none	Casual labour, sea-lift	Heavy equipment course	No
18	S	3 years (one year Arctic Bay) Grade 2?	Arctic Bay, Clyde River	" " "	" " "	Yes
18	S	4 years - Grade 4	Igloolik	" " "	" " "	"
16	S	4 years - Grade 4	Clyde River	" " "	" " "	"
27	S	none	Arctic Bay	" " "	" " "	"
20	S	2 years (1 year Fort Churchill 1965 Grade 4	Arctic Bay, Churchill Resolute	" " "	" " "	"

S - single, M - married

A home economics course was offered for the women in the community and attracted 32 Eskimo women to a Saturday afternoon class held in the school. The age range of the pupils was from 20-60 years. Eight classes were held between March 25, 1967, and May 13, 1967. A similar adult education program was scheduled for the 1967-1968 term.

Adult education obviously fills a gap in the settlement life which is only partially filled by church services and various forms of recreation. It is impossible to assess accurately the results of such courses, but it permits the adult population to relate with the educational program directed essentially at the children. The majority of adults have little contact with the English language and those who can speak English are often hesitant about using it. Contact with non-Eskimo groups is extremely limited and is usually made through interpreters drawn from the younger Eskimos. Only the Area Administrator and the missionaries are able to communicate with the people in the Eskimo language. There are limited opportunities for the non-Eskimo group to learn Eskimo, and few make any real attempt since they do not anticipate staying in the community beyond a few years.

There is some difficulty in overcoming the gap between the non-Eskimo group and the Eskimo group in the community. Associations are minimal except for contacts between the teenage Eskimos and younger adults in the community.

Employment Agencies in the Communities

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is the major employment agency both in terms of numbers employed and types of employment available.

Permanent Forms of Employment in Pond Inlet

The following forms of permanent employment were listed: Hudson's Bay Company (two clerks), Royal Canadian Mounted Police (special constable), D.I.A.N.D. (one acting N.S.O. assistant, three prevailing rate employees, one janitor, Northern Health Services (one janitor - handyman, one maid).

As can be seen from the statistics, the permanent forms of employment are limited. Within the immediate future there is little room for expansion.

These figures may be compared with the 1961 settlement survey and subsequently the housing survey carried out in 1965.

TABLE 66 - Permanent Employment, 1961

Type of Work	Employment Agency	Number Employed
Clerk	Hudson's Bay Co.	1
Labourer	D.N.A.	1
Miners	(R.C.M.P. and Hudson's Bay Co.)	30 men - 2 weeks Seasonal - fluctuation in numbers
Housekeepers	Hudson's Bay Co., R.C.M.P., Missions	3

TABLE 67 - Permanent Employment, Pond Inlet, 1965

Type of Work	Employment Agency	Number Employed
Clerks	H.B.C.	2
Housekeeper	H.B.C.	1
Labourers	D.N.A.	6
Special Constables	R.C.M.P.	2
Housekeepers	Missions	2

Employment With Baffin Land Iron Mines

In 1964, seven Eskimos were seasonally employed by Baffin Land Iron Mines, five from Pond Inlet, and two from Igloolik, April to October. Baffin Land Iron Mines employed 11 Pond Inlet area Eskimos in its seasonal operation at Mary River in 1965. The men were paid \$16.00 per day of which \$8.00 per day was deducted from their pay for room and board. The men worked from May to the end of September and early October, and received transportation to and from their homes. The men were employed in labouring duties and given instruction in vehicle operation. Two of the Eskimo men subsequently proceeded on vocational training courses at Chilliwack B.C. during 1965-1966. Another man went on an academic upgrading course in Ottawa. In 1967, no employment was available at Mary River Mine.

TABLE 68 - Vocational Training

Vocational training programs have had limited application in the Pond Inlet area.

No. of Men	Age	Type of Course	Present Occupation
1	33	Heavy Equipment course, Chilliwack 1966-1967	Prevailing rate employee, Pond Inlet
1	23	" " " "	Unemployed*
1	27	Heavy Equipment course, Yellowknife	Prevailing rate, Pond Inlet
1	34	Two weeks janitorial training course, Frobisher Bay, N.W.T., 1965	School janitor, Pond Inlet

*Works at construction when this form of employment is available

Future Vocational Training Programs

Very little work has been carried out in the Pond Inlet area in promoting vocational training. Ten young men have signified an interest in vocational training, but they are unaware of the courses offered and the majority wish to be employed in their home community. Of the group, four signified that they would work at an outside community such as Mary River. They have no experience with the outside world. Their educational background is extremely limited, consisting of small amounts of formal education in mission schools and through camp teaching programs.

Seasonal Labour, Construction

Since 1960, seasonal employment with construction arising out of the expansion of administrative services has become of major importance in the economy in terms of injecting income on a seasonal basis. The normal construction season extends from August until December, and attracts a number of labourers from both the settlement group and outside the settlement. Increasingly, the labour force is readily available in the settlement due to the in-movement from the camps. The number of men fluctuates depending on the work available and the stage of construction. There is evidence that the majority of Eskimos place some importance on this type of employment and remain at it until it is no longer available. It has exerted some effects on hunting and trapping patterns as does the sea-lift, since Eskimos are willing to delay extended trips away from the settlement in order to avoid losing the possibilities of employment.

Casual Labour

Casual labour opportunities are available in small amounts in the settlement. There is also a tendency for the same people to be employed in casual labour from month to month. They are usually friends of prevailing rate employees and are kept informed of the availability of casual labour opportunities.

The following hourly wage rates were being paid in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in 1967: foreman, \$3.50 to \$3.85; carpenter, \$2.99 to \$3.25; plumber, \$3.60; cook, \$2.15 to \$2.25; equipment operator, \$2.79 (non-Eskimo); \$2.20 Eskimo.

TABLE 69 - Hypothetical Labour Force, Pond Inlet

Age Group	Male	Female	No. of Males in Permanent Employment	No. of Females in Permanent Employment
15-20	28	22	1	1
21-25	14	10	3	1
26-30	11	11	2	2
31-35	11	9	3	-
36-40	8	8	1	-
41-45	3	2	-	-
46-50	4	3	2	-
51-55	3	5	-	-
56-60	1	3	-	1
61-65	1	2	-	-
Totals	84	75	12	5

Males Sector of the Labour Force

Only 14.2 per cent of the total labour force is employed on a permanent basis. Of this group consisting of eleven men, four are employed in jobs which are not demanding in terms of physical or mental labour and offer only small returns. Two men occupy positions as clerks with the Hudson's Bay Company. These jobs have some prestige value particularly in the case of the head clerk who administers accounts. Three men are employed as hostel parents which offers minimal real income, but provides rations and accommodation in return for

services and free time for hunting and trapping. The remaining men are employed in varying categories. One is a long-term R.C.M.P. constable on the verge of retirement. Another is an assistant to the Area Administrator. The remaining men are employed as janitors, equipment operators, and drivers. There are a number of real pressures in a settlement environment for regular forms of employment and a steady income not available from hunting and trapping. In general, the mobility of the existing labour force is limited due to a lack of contact with other environments and work conditions, limited skills and experience and reluctance to leave the home community. Adult education programs are slowly developing an awareness of the settlement milieu, but do not appear to be meeting the need for increased mobility. A preconditioning program is necessary to equip the young segments of the labour force for relocation elsewhere. The age group over thirty will presumably continue to exist in the home community barring development of mining on Baffin Island. The population as a whole is presently incapable of foreseeing the advantages of relocation. The welfare programs, construction and community development programs have bolstered the economy and infused a sense of well-being which has been hitherto unknown in the area.

Female Sector of Labour Force

Due to the large number of children and the size of the family units, some caution must be used in interpreting the female labour force potential.

TABLE 70 - Examples of Fur and Sealskin Incomes of
Settlement Eskimos, 1966-1967

Age of Hunter	No. of Dependents	Fox	Seal	Income (dollars)
25*	4	2	19	200.55
59	6	-	4	31.25
49*	5	1	72	593.52
38	8	-	18	103.75
62	2	3	60	437.45
37	6	1	21	184.80
26	5	-	26	201.70
49*	5	-	14	104.00
34	5	2	23	196.70
29	3	-	21	171.00
29	5	1	49	296.80
26	3	-	52	474.25
33	3	1	105	763.40
37	4	1	39	251.25
48*	10	1	6	62.00
26	-	3	11	131.50
43	8	8	65	480.45
38	9	9	67	741.80
24	3	11	57	484.70
26	3	11	72	547.10
24	2	-	11	86.50
30	3	-	51	341.30
52	6	3	63	497.10
31	6	17	67	701.10

*Fully employed persons are marked with an asterisk. The remainder take casual employment as it becomes available.

TABLE 71 - Earnings of Eskimos in D.I.A.N.D. Employment,
Pond Inlet, 1966

Employee	No. of Dependents	Total Earnings (dollars)	Employee	No. of Dependents	Total Earnings (dollars)
1. Male	3	304.46	25. Male	3	7,284.41
2. Female	0	114.80	26. Male	0	276.00
3. Male	0	141.45	27. Male	3	200.00
4. Male	0	383.35	28. Male	10	825.00
5. Male	0	598.78	29. Male	4	200.00
6. Male	0	616.24	30. Female	0	514.69
7. Male	4	806.80	31. Male	8	450.00
8. Male	6	349.65	32. Female	2	450.00
9. Male	1	948.08	33. Male	3	208.08
10. Male	5	1,455.97	34. Female	4	19.22
11. Male	6	1,905.31	35. Male	2	84.05
12. Male	5	1,144.23	36. Male	0	5.55
13. Male	8	2,274.51	37. Male	2	19.90
14. Male	5	721.74	38. Male	0	7.77
15. Male	5	448.13	39. Male	2	382.91
16. Male	3	802.95	40. Male	4	84.05
17. Male	7	969.24	41. Male	0	212.16
18. Male	0	757.83	42. Female	0	39.36
19. Male	6	468.01	43. Male	4	156.21
20. Male	0	858.77	44. Female	0	6.24
21. Male	0	1,323.30	45. Female	2	12.48
22. Male	6	3,889.48	46. Female	3	7.77
23. Male	5	6,575.76	47. Male	3	127.11
24. Male	9	6,587.84	48. Female	3	16.62

Numbers 22 to 25 were prevailing rate employees. Wage income (based on T4 slips) does not include earnings from trapping or handicrafts.

Service Contracts

Service contracts have been used by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to provide employment of varying types such as the following: hostel parents, classroom assistants and interpreters, municipal services, small projects.

TABLE 72 - Service Agreements, 1964 to 1967

Period or Date of Commencement	Purpose	Payment (dollars)
September, 1967 June 30, 1967	2 hostel parents	150.00 a month
September, 1967 June 30, 1967	1 hostel parent	100.00 a month
October, 1967	Homekeeping	300.00 a month

(Continued)

TABLE 72 - (continued)

Period or Date of Commencement	Purpose	Payment (dollars)
September, 1967	Classroom assistant	120.00 a month
July 1, 1967	Haul ice and water	500.00 a month
March 31, 1968	" " " "	
September 1, 1967	Labourer hauling ice and water	400.00 a month
March 31, 1968 April, 1967	Building of furniture and implements for Eskimo low rental houses	100.00 total payment
September 1966 - June 1967	Classroom assistant	120.00 a month
October 1967 - June 30, 1967	Hostel parents	100.00 a month
September 1966 - June 30, 1967	Hostel parents	150.00 a month
September 1, 1966 - June 30, 1967	Hostel parents	100.00 a month
June, 1967	Interpreter Services	100.00 total payment
May 1, 1967 - June 30, 1967	Hostel parents	150.00 a month
September 1, 1965 - June 30, 1966	Hostel parents	150.00 a month
September 1, 1965 - June 30, 1966	Hostel parents	150.00 a month
September 1, 1965 - June 30, 1966	Classroom assistant	100.00 a month
October 1, 1965 - October 31, 1965	Classroom assistant	75.00 a month
July 1, 1966 - August 30, 1966	Interpreter Adult Education Program	maximum 600.00 July-August
March 9, 1965 - June 30, 1965	Weekly trip to Iglugisat Camp - camp teaching program	10.00 a day
September, 1964 - May 31, 1965	Hostel parents	150.00 a month

(Continued)

TABLE 72 - (continued)

Period or Date of Commencement	Purpose	Payment (dollars)
September, 1965	Boat delivery of Eskimo housing	100.00 total payment
September 1, 1964 - May 31, 1965	Instruction to hostel parents by non-Eskimo	320.00 total payment
October 1, 1964 - May 31, 1965	Instruction in sewing, knitting, handicrafts, non-Eskimo	250.00 total payment
February 15, 1964 - May 15, 1964	Classroom assistant	75.00 a month

Need for Increased Employment

The matter of increasing permanent employment in small communities is of major economic importance. There should be no hesitation on the part of responsible agencies in substituting Eskimos for non-Eskimos as rapidly as possible. The Churchill students are well educated by northern standards and could be directed into fields of study where they would find initial employment in their own community.

While it may be argued that the non-Eskimo population represents an acculturation factor, contacts between non-Eskimos and Eskimos in Pond Inlet are minimal and communication is strained by language barriers which are not easily overcome. A large part of the intra-settlement squabbles among non-Eskimos arises simply from too much time, not enough activity and a sense of short-term residence.

The very few adult Eskimos who can speak English presently resident in the Pond Inlet area learned to communicate in English through residence in hospital. Similarly, Eskimos employed on the DEWline learned English more rapidly than settlement Eskimos.

In Pond Inlet, there is no apparent reason why the post office should be maintained by non-Eskimos when there are Eskimos with sufficient education and a sense of responsibility.

Positions Presently Occupied by non-Eskimos which could be Occupied by Eskimos

It appears reasonable that a number of positions currently occupied by non-Eskimos could be occupied by Eskimos. Among these are clerical help, mechanics, projects officers and police constables.

Neither the long-term nor the short-term construction projects can continue to provide needed employment in communities such as Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. In the interim period between the development of mineral resources, there should be a rapid development of mobility to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere. The north Baffin communities have a labour pool which could be used on a rotational

basis. This would require substantial efforts on the part of the Department in developing and co-ordinating labour movements to seasonal job opportunities. The north Baffin Eskimos have demonstrated a willingness to work in developing mineral properties (Mary River and Strathcona Sound) for extended periods. A back-up program could be developed in the home communities consisting of summer projects to accumulate stores of country food for winter use.

Public Assistance

"Public Assistance" is the general name for welfare programs providing financial assistance from public funds to persons in need. Under the D.I.A.N.D. program this includes: social assistance, maintenance of children under programs for child welfare and juvenile delinquents and maintenance of vocational trainees' dependents, boarding home care and transient patients. Social assistance (formerly known as "relief"), provides for the maintenance of persons whose income, in the form of cash or country food is insufficient to maintain them at a reasonable standard of health and efficiency.

TABLE 73 - Scale of Payments for Food and Clothing under Social Assistance Programs[¶]

Maximum Monthly Groceries Allowance			
<u>Age Group</u>			
0-5	6-11	12-15	16+
\$20	\$25	\$30	\$35
<u>Maximum 12-month Clothing Allowance</u>			
\$55	\$80	\$90	\$100

[¶]These rates are in effect at Arctic Bay, Resolute, Grise Fiord as well. Rates are subject to periodic reviews.

Social Assistance

The various forms of social assistance are administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There is little evidence of cyclical trends. This appears to be primarily due to a strict but fair administration of social assistance based on the local availability of resources without serious fluctuations. The bulk of social assistance payments are those received by persons incapable of obtaining a living through resource harvesting and part-time employment or full-time employment. Widows receive a large proportion of social assistance. This is reflected in a perusal of individual social assistance payments over an extended period. The Pond Inlet Eskimos are aware of the increased amounts of social assistance being paid in the Igloolik area through the reports of Igloolik Eskimos visiting the community.

The following is a listing of total monthly social assistance payments at Pond Inlet:

TABLE 74 - Monthly Issues, Social Assistance,
Pond Inlet, 1964 to 1967

Month	1964-1965 (dollars)	1965-1966 (dollars)	1966-1967 (dollars)
April	405.29	376.40	225.40
May	420.01	338.76	283.25
June	389.13	336.04	252.96
July	526.30	374.89	330.00
August	489.43	328.95	259.00
September	387.58	200.00	404.94
October	446.70	164.00	358.52
November	341.77	276.64	397.10
December	399.04	271.64	444.51
January	378.30	255.03	393.99
February	395.08	278.35	462.73
March	353.86	210.00	489.74
Totals	4,302.14	3,410.18	4,932.49

TABLE 75 - Social Assistance (Local Payments), Pond Inlet, 1966 (in dollars)

Family Head	No. Dep.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
F (widow)	2	38.18	35.00	35.00	44.44	43.95	35.00	35.00	39.00	35.00	-	30.00	39.47
F (health)	3	35.00	35.00	35.00	35.00	35.00	35.00	35.00	35.00	65.00	35.00	35.00	35.00
F (widow)	2	35.00	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	75.00	57.00	-	64.24	56.98
M (boarding home care)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85.00	65.00	79.44
F (widow)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.49	55.34	45.00	49.50
M (boarding home care)	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.25
M (boarding home care)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.66
F (husband in hospital)	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.70
F (poor hunter)	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103.43
M (widow)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.70
M (illness, good hunter)	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.00
M (illness, good hunter)	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.00	-
M (illness, good hunter)	4	-	50.50	-	-	-	58.69	-	-	-	-	48.86	-
F (hospital)	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	-	33.25
M (large family)	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	45.00	-	56.95	-	-	-
M (illness, good hunter)	3	-	-	-	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M (disabled)	3	-	25.00	-	25.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M (illness)	3	-	-	-	71.40	-	50.00	-	-	70.50	-	-	-
M (illness)	4	-	-	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56.48
F (widow)	2	7.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F (widow)	3	40.00	57.85	45.00	-	45.00	45.00	45.00	-	-	-	-	-
F (husband ill)	3	66.85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.80	-	-
M (good hunter)	3	15.00	15.00	-	20.00	20.00	20.00	20.00	-	-	-	15.00	-
F (widow)	2	25.00	50.00	-	-	67.90	59.27	45.00	45.00	50.00	-	50.00	-
M (boarding home care)	1	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	30.00	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 76 - Social Assistance Expenditures by Settlement*

	1957-1958 (dollars)	1958-1959 (dollars)	1959-1960 (dollars)	1960-1961 (dollars)	1961-1962 (dollars)	1962-1963 (dollars)	1963-1964 (dollars)	1964-1965 (dollars)	1965-1966 (dollars)	1966-1967 (dollars)
Pond Inlet	1,930	4,068	4,167	5,686	3,462	7,792	2,581	9,500	3,339	4,463
Arctic Bay	3,307	2,041	2,119	2,909	4,423	3,267	1,766	4,900	5,486	7,925
Grise Fiord	-	-	2,671	180	10	707	2,451	4,200	4,049	8,372
Resolute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000	2,962	511
Igloodlik	4,017	5,086	4,476	4,790	5,174	19,110	3,528	39,100	23,679	26,386
Hall Beach	-	-	-	-	-	688	752	-	401	245
Clyde River	2,588	5,609	2,254	5,363	6,813	13,471	5,321	12,900	3,481	7,571

*Based on Hollerith Run (I.B.M.)
Other settlements are included for comparative purposes

Hudson's Bay Company Store

The Hudson's Bay Company store is the sole retail outlet in the community. In 1967, it consisted of a small one-room store with merchandise displayed on shelves and counters. A new store similar to expanded facilities available in Igloolik, Rankin Inlet and elsewhere in the eastern Arctic was shipped to the community in 1967

A list of commodity prices in 1967 has been included in the report.

TABLE 77 - Food and other Commodity Prices

Item	Quantity	Price	Item	Quantity	Price
Flour	25 lb.	\$3.55	Sausages	12 oz.	\$.80
"	50 lb.	6.90	Ham	3 lb.	3.00
Baking powder	1 lb.	.54	Rice	1 lb.	.30
Sugar	5 lb.	.68	Macaroni	1 lb.	.30
"	10 lb.	1.35	Canned juices	20 oz. tin	.35
Tea	1 lb.	1.30-	Canned vegetables	15 oz. tin	.25-
		1.42			.30
Coffee	1 lb.	1.09	Oranges*	case	9.00-
Coffee instant	6 oz.	1.38			(7¢ ea.)
Jam	1 lb.	.85	Apples*	case	9.50-
Pilot biscuits	2 lb.	.84			(6¢ ea.)
(hard)			Cigarettes	pkt.	.40
Pilot biscuits	1 lb.	.53	"	carton	3.95 by
(soft)					sea
Cereal	8 oz.	.32	Cigarette tobacco	½ lb. tin	2.00
Rolled oats	3 lb.	.99	" "	1/8 lb. pkt.	.60
Powdered whole milk	1 lb.	.83	Soft drinks	10 oz. tin	.18
" skim milk	1 lb.	.62	Duffel	yd.	8.95
Evaporated milk	tin	.29	Grenfell cloth	yd.	1.60
Condensed sweetened	tin	.47	Stroud	yd.	9.98
Butter	1 lb.	.96	Wind pants	-	13.95
Margarine	1 lb.	.43	Pants (jeans	-	4.19
Lard	1 lb.	.34	(work pants)	-	5.50
Beef fat	1 lb.	.21	(trousers)	-	11.00
Canned meat	12 oz. tin	.70	Shirts	-	4.19-
Canned stew	15 oz. tin	.44			3.69-
Steak and onions	15 oz. tin	.80			4.29
Canned chicken	2 lb.	1.23	Socks (wool	-	1.25
Corned beef	12 oz.	.80	Womens' dresses	-	4.49-
					8.98

*Supply brought in on sea-lift and lasts about 1½ months.

In general, there are minor variations in food types purchased by settlement and camp Eskimos. The camp Eskimos purchase flour in 100 pound bags, whereas settlement people purchase smaller bags of 25 pounds and 50 pounds. Rolled oats are no longer a staple commodity. There is a growing interest in canned fruits, juices, and evaporated and skim milk. Soups are also growing in popularity as are canned pork and beans. Vegetable preferences are canned corn and tomatoes.

Purchase of canned meats is still primarily dependent on hunting success with more canned meats being purchased when hunting is poor. Tailor-made cigarettes are purchased in preference to tinned tobaccos. Settlement-based Eskimos are showing a greater interest in purchasing kitchen utensils and other household items.

Annual Utilization of Non-Country Foods

The following are the overall estimates of the annual utilization by Eskimos of imported foods at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. These figures do not include rations taken by employed Eskimo personnel. There are no major differences in types of food purchased by camp and settlement Eskimos. In the Pond Inlet area, five families purchase rations from government agencies. Two employed families are primarily dependent on store purchased rations. In Arctic Bay, two families purchase rations through pay deductions. One family receives rations from a religious institution. In 1967, in both communities, various types of store foods became in short supply by June and rationing was instituted by managers to eke out supplies until the September sea-lift. This also applies to other Arctic settlements where the communities are dependent on annual sea-lifts.

TABLE 78 - Estimated Annual Utilization

Commodity	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
Flour	34,980 lbs.	15,605 lbs.
Baking powder	1,011 "	1,813 "
Sugar	19,850 "	10,692 "
Tea	1,275 "	1,009 "
Lard	1,296 "	933 "
Butter	864 "	198 "
Margarine	158 "	217 "
Powdered milk	4,217 "	2,593 "
Evaporated milk	2,173 "	557 "
Pilot biscuits	2,389 "	3,614 "
Soda biscuits	288 "	146 "
Sweet biscuits	2,293 "	310 "
Assorted canned meats	2,609 "	1,605 "
Jams	460 "	449 "
Molasses, syrups	585 "	27 "
Rice	179 "	- "
Rolled oats	606 "	844 "
Other cereals	309 "	182 "
Dried fruits	782 "	386 "
Fine cut tobacco	697 "	526 "
Cigarettes	24,037 pkts.	11,694 pkts.
Candies	1,748 lbs.	244 lbs.
Soft drinks	8,288 cans	2,808 cans

Rations

In addition to the rations received by hostel parents, five employed Eskimos take D.I.A.N.D. rations in the community.

Position	Type of Rations Taken
Prevailing rate employee	1 adult, 2 children
" " "	2 adults, 2 children
" " "	1 adult, 2 children
" " "	1 adult, 2 children
" " "	1 adult, (single but living at home)

Four of the persons listed above also qualify for fresh food allowances which permits the ordering of limited quantities of fresh meat, fruit and vegetables at southern costs. The R.C.M.P. special constable receives rations. The Hudson's Bay Company clerks purchase their own rations.

The following is a list of equipment and price ranges:

TABLE 79 - Equipment Types and Prices

Item	Price (dollars)
Ammunition 30.30	4.80 (20 rounds)
" .303	5.50 (20 rounds)
" .222	3.95 (20 rounds)
" .22 magnum	3.95 (20 rounds)
" .22 regular	.85 (50 rounds)
Outboard or ski-doo gas	1.10 gal.
Naphtha for Coleman stoves and lamps	1.10 gal.
Lubricating oil	.65 qt.
Tent canvas	1.15 yard
Sleeping bags	24.95 each (12 a year)
Snow knife blade, 14"	5.95 each
Saw	5.39 each
Axe	3.49 - 4.39
Hand drills	2.98 - 11.95
Komatik shoeing	16.50 each
" planks	42.00 each
File sets	3.98 set
Pocket knife	4.49 each
Rifles 30.30	105.00 (rarely sell)
" .303	40.00 - 70.00
" .22	19.00 - 32.00 (20 a year)
" .222	90.00 - 170.00 (58 a year)
" .243	149.95
Scopes (Weaver model 22)	13.60 (6 sold a year)
" (Magnum)	58.95

* .303 rifles are sold only if Canadian Ranger rifles are not available

(Continued)

TABLE 79 - (continued)

Item	Price (dollars)
Traps, fox	1.25 each
" wolf	3.80 each
Canoes 20'	775.00 (1 - 3 a year)
Skiffs, plywood	180.00 (1 - 3 a year)
Ski-doo, 10 H.P.	850.00 each
Ski-doo, 14 H.P.	950.00 each
Primus stove	11.95
Coleman stove	19.85 single burner \$24 double
Coleman stove	19.00 single \$24.95 double
Outboard motors, 18 H.P.	500.00 (1 - 2 a year)
" " 10 H.P.	400.00 (2 - 3 a year)
" " 5 H.P.	300.00 (1 - 2 a year)
Seal netting twine	3.25 (2 - 300 lbs. a year)

Savings

There are three agencies for the purposes of saving money. People employed with the Hudson's Bay Company have savings accounts maintained for them through the Hudson's Bay Company. Those employed by the R.C.M.P. police maintain savings accounts in Ottawa. A retired special constable has a savings account in Frobisher Bay. Those people employed on a permanent or semi-permanent basis with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are encouraged to establish savings accounts in Frobisher Bay. There is little incentive to save in the community. Of the current savings accounts maintained by Eskimos in the community, few have shown continued growth since establishment. In general, there has been a short-term growth period when routine deposits are made followed by an increase in spending to meet immediate requirements, which depletes accounts. It follows that with the establishment of a new store in the community and expanded lines of merchandise the tendency to save will decrease.

Mail-Orders

The mail-order business is limited in the community in line with limited incomes, the demands of immediate needs and delays in receiving mail-orders. Non-Eskimos have encouraged and assisted Eskimos in using the mail-order services. The amount of ready cash is limited.

TABLE 80 - Status of Pond Inlet Bank Accounts Held by Eskimos

Employment	Bank Balance (dollars)	Duration of Account
Hostel parent	8.70	Jan. 1967 - Aug. 1967
Hostel parent	5.11	Jan. 1965 - Aug. 1967
Caretaker	245.21	Jan. 1966 - Aug. 1967

(Continued)

TABLE 80 - (continued)

Employment	Bank Balance (dollars)	Duration of Account
Prevailing rate employee	604.31	Jan. 1965 - Aug. 1967
Hostel parent	57.98	Jan. 1966 - Aug. 1966
Hunter-trapper	145.00	Apr. 1966 - Apr. 1967
Hunter-trapper	3.09	Apr. 1965 - Oct. 1966
Prevailing rate employee	202.97	May 1966 - Aug. 1967

A prevailing rate employee also holds a Canada Savings Bond valued at \$1,000.00

Community Council, Pond Inlet, 1967

The **Community Council** in Pond Inlet consisted of eight Eskimos and the Area Administrator who acted as secretary for the **Council**.

Council Members

Location

Chairman	Pond Inlet, assistant to the Area Administrator
Member	Pond Inlet - lay reader in Anglican church, very active in community affairs
Member	Former camp boss at Qaornak, 75 years of age
Member	Camp boss at Kuktujuk
Member	Camp boss at Nadlua camp
Member	Pond Inlet, hunter and trapper
Member	Formerly lived in Coutts Inlet area and Igarjuak, now Community Dog Officer
Member	Camp boss at Ipiarjuk

The members in the council represent both camp and settlement Eskimos. Council meetings deal with various projects, the extension of settlement facilities and resource oriented projects. Age groupings are well-defined and appear to have a definite bearing on social and economic activities. Eskimos apply age groupings to non-Eskimos in the community and have a tendency to equate ability with age and experience in the north.

List of Topics Discussed at Community Council Meeting, June 1967

1. Purchase of country food for coal miners.
2. Hauling of coal to Bylot Island.
3. Kuktujuk people to complete trail house at Button Point.
4. Hauling of stove to Utok Lake cabin.
5. Area Administrator to check with Frobisher Bay on feasibility of hauling houses to Qaornak and Ipiarjuk camps.

6. Redistribution of houses in camps, house from Ivisat to Kuktujok and house from Kuktujok to Ipiarjuk.
7. Types of houses wanted by Qaornak people.
8. Putting a house at Tugat, a former camp location for use of fox trappers and fishermen.
9. Gas for Community Trap Boat to be purchased and issued by Agnetsiak, an elder in the community.
10. Larger community boat required in order to meet needs for increased transportation.
11. Dog problems, too many loose dogs being shot without attempts to advise owners.
12. Establishment of a land dump for waste disposal.
13. Establishment of a camera club, funds not available.
14. Two Eskimo women suggested there was a lack of supervision of children at school recesses.

The **Council** was held in a one-room school. Council members were assembled around a table. The audience consisted primarily of Eskimo males, non-Eskimos, local missionaries. The R.C.M.P. attended although they made no direct contribution to the meeting. The meeting was taped for later translation from Eskimo. Eskimos in the audience participated informally during general discussions of the topics outlined above.

Community development programs were initiated in the eastern Arctic in 1964. The programs were designed to aid in the initiative of economic self-help programs at the community level.

The programs involve two types of activities: projects of a non-economic nature, clean up of settlement. In projects of this nature a maximum use of local labour is specified and it is stated that 70 per cent of the funds allocated to the programs be used in payment of local labour. Projects of an economic nature, organized hunting and fishing projects; here the labour cost is specified and the funds can be devoted to obtaining necessary materials, gas for the operation of boat, netting twine etc.

Community Development Projects, Pond Inlet, 1965-1966

The following community projects were undertaken in 1965-1966: paying operating costs of the community trap boat, \$200.00; mining local soapstone, \$500.00; provision and supplying community doglines for hunters visiting from outlying camps, \$125.00; building and operating community radio station, \$750.00.

In 1965-1966, the Eskimos of Pond Inlet became enthusiastic about the possibility of purchasing a large boat through the Community Development Fund. However, for financial allotment reasons, it was impossible to combine the Community Development Fund with the Small Boats Assistance Program. In 1966-1967, the **Community Council** managed to purchase a trap boat to be used in hunting by both settlement and camp Eskimos on a rotational basis. The Regional Administrator in Frobisher Bay expressed the feeling that community development projects would be more successful following a decline in settlement construction programs.

TABLE 81 - Community Development Projects, 1966

Month	Project	Number of People	Expenditure (dollars)
January	Cutting ice, voluntary labour controlling dog lines	7	356.00
March	Purchase of netting twine for whale nets	-	182.07
May - June	Cleaning wash-house	1	30.00
	Hauling soapstone	1	24.00
August, 1966	Purchase of trap boat	-	1,470.00

TABLE 82 - Community Development Projects, Pond Inlet, 1967 and 1968

Project Status as of Sept. 1, 1967	Estimated Cost (dollars)	Expenditure as of August 15, 1968 (dollars)
Janitorial service community hall	240.00	67.50 (240.00 expended end of fiscal year)
Construction fishing cabin Utok Lake	166.76	166.76 (expended end of fiscal year)
Mining of coal	345.00	450.11 (by March, 1968)
Cutting and hauling ice for all low rental housing	573.00	666.87
Equipping and operating radio station	4,020.60	-
Collection of garbage from low rental housing	918.40	120.19 (1,000, 1968)
Payment of monthly stipend to dog officer	350.00	240.00 (350.00 1968)
Operation of community trap boat	300.00	Expended
Clean-up around houses	60.00	60.00
Wash-house January	45.00	135.00 (March, 1967)

TABLE 83 - Community Development Fund Expenditures,
May 1967, Pond Inlet

Worker	Project	Payment (dollars)	Worker	Project	Payment (dollars)
X	Cleaning old school	5.00	X	Building house	34.99
X	Mining coal \$1.50 per bag	63.79	X	Ice hauling	79.00
X	" " " "	71.15	X	" "	24.00
X	" " " "	43.17	X	" "	100.00
X	" " " "	3.50	X	Garbage	11.48
X	Hauling coal .50 per bag	8.50	X	" "	11.48
X	" " " "	3.00	X	" "	8.20
X	" " " "	5.00	X	Hauling coal	15.00
X	Ice hauling	51.51	X	" "	15.00
X	" "	41.69	X	" "	7.50
X	Cleaning old school	2.50	X	" "	16.50
X	" " "	5.00	X	" "	15.00
X	" " "	5.00	X	" "	12.00
X	Building house	34.99	X	" "	22.50
			X	" "	16.50

In addition, fifteen dollars worth of materials were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company.

The following table provides comparative data on the expenditure of community development funds in the various Arctic communities over the past few years. Major expenditures have occurred at Igloolik. The relative lack of community development at Arctic Bay and Grise Fiord is partly attributed to the lack of area administrators at these locations.

TABLE 84 - Community Development Fund, Budget Details

Settlement	Expended 1964-1965 (dollars)	Expended 1965-1966 (dollars)	Expended 1966-1967 (dollars)	Expended 1967-1968 (dollars)
Pond Inlet	0	182	2,487	4,000
Arctic Bay	0	0	0	0
Resolute	0	0	1,000	1,000
Grise Fiord	0	0	915	0
Queen Elizabeth Islands	0	0	1,000	1,000
Igloolik	2,272	1,742	4,712	11,000
Broughton Island	1,994	731	4,454	0

The Eskimo Community

Eskimo housing is scattered through the settlement area but the rental Eskimo housing erected in 1966 and 1967, has been concentrated on a site selected for this purpose in the northeast part of the settlement. These houses are accessible

to a shelving beach zone on the north end of the settlement. Sled dogs are tethered in the beach area. Canoes and skiffs must be hauled up a steep incline (a drop of 70 feet over a distance of approximately 300 feet). No road exists and gear and meat must be carried uphill to the houses. The houses have been placed in rows to facilitate truck collection of garbage and water deliveries. In general, the northern housing area is well-kept. A few individuals have built plywood additions on their houses for the storage of equipment. Others place equipment on roofs or on oil drums at the beach area.

Low-Cost Housing, Pond Inlet

In order to overcome the need for adequate housing, the Department made available in 1964-1965, welfare houses and resale housing in the Pond Inlet area. From September 1964 to December 1965, there were twenty-two applications for Eskimo housing. Eight resale were erected in camps during the period. Prior to the introduction of the rental housing scheme, sixteen Eskimos had made payments on house purchases. Prices ranged from \$1,000.00 to \$4,835.00 according to ability to pay. A total of twenty-five houses had been occupied by May 3rd, 1966.

TABLE 85 - Low-Cost Housing Payments, 1964-1965

Range of Payments*	No. of Payees	Range of Payments	No. of Payees
\$ 0 - 100	7	\$501 - 600	-
101 - 200	4	601 - 700	-
201 - 300	2	701 - 800	-
301 - 400	-	801 - 900	1
401 - 500	1		

*One prevailing rate employee had paid \$1,200. Seven occupants had made no payments.

Subsequently the houses were repurchased by the government from Eskimo owners and the occupants became rent payers rather than purchasers. Under the rental housing agreement, utilities were provided to the occupant.

Eskimo rental housing began in the Frobisher Bay region in 1966. The government built 194 new houses in nine settlements. As houses were built, Eskimos rented them. The rent was reasonable, to encourage families to live in good houses. The rentals charged in respect to Eskimo housing have been based on the size of the family income, while the type and size of house are dependent on the needs of the family. Eskimos who rent these houses may buy them at a later date.

A prevailing rate Eskimo employee of the Department or a permanent employee of another organization with a good income pays the following monthly rate. One dollar is assessed on every five dollars of income. For example a one room house rents at \$37.00 a month, a one bedroom house rents at \$42.00 a month, a two bedroom house rents at \$62.00 a month, a three bedroom house rents at \$67.00 a month.

For hunters and trappers, rents range between \$10 - \$14 a month. Four settlement families were assessed this rent. For hunters and trappers who are able to supplement their incomes by part-time or casual work, \$22.00 is the

monthly rental. Fourteen families in Pond Inlet were in this category. Three families whose heads were fully employed were assessed \$67.00 a month. Four family heads dependent on pensions and welfare pay a \$2.00 a month rental.

The following is a statement of the housing records for Eskimo rental housing in Pond Inlet as recorded in July, 1967. The major sources of income have been listed. In general, casual labour is seasonal in nature and not a regular source of income, and casual labourers have to meet credit obligations at the store as well as purchasing day to day necessities.

TABLE 86 - Rent Records, Pond Inlet

Household Head	Amount Assess (dollars)	Amount Paid (dollars)	Arrears (dollars)	Major Sources of Income
X	2.00	4.00 Mar. - Apr.	6.00	Widow
X	22.00	97.00 Jan. - May	13.00	Hunter trapper, casual labourer
X	22.00	88.00 Jan. - Apr.	22.00	Hunter trapper, casual labourer
X	22.00	110.00 Jan. - May	-	Hunter trapper
X	22.00	110.00 Jan. - May	-	Hunter trapper casual labourer, R.C.M.P. pension
X	67.00	271.00 Jan. - May	64.00	Casual labourer
X	67.00	201.00 Jan. - May	134.00	Prevailing rate
X	67.00	346.00 Jan. - May	11.00	" "
X	22.00	99.00 Dec. - May	22.00	Hunter trapper
X	22.00	86.00 Jan. - May	24.00	Hunter trapper
X	22.00	22.00 Jan. - May	88.00	Casual labourer, hunter trapper
X	22.00	87.00 Jan. - May	23.00	Hunter trapper
X	22.00	33.00 Jan. - May	77.00	Hunter trapper, carver, casual labourer
X	22.00	66.00 Jan. - May	55.00	Hunter trapper
X	2.00	8.00 Jan. - May	2.00	R.C.M.P. pension
X	22.00	81.00 Dec. - May	40.00	Hunter trapper, casual labourer
X	(Dec. 11.00) 22.00	52.00 Dec. - May	69.00	Hunter trapper, casual labourer
X	(Dec. 11.00) 22.00	88.00 Jan. - May	22.00	Hunter trapper
X	14.00	14.00 Jan. - May	56.00	Hunter trapper
X	14.00	14.00 Jan. - May	56.00	Hunter trapper
X	2.00	7.00 Jan. - May	3.00	Welfare
X	2.00	6.00 Jan. - May	4.00	Widow, welfare
X	67.00	268.00 Jan. - May	67.00	Prevailing rate
X	12.00	36.00 Jan. - May	24.00	Hunter trapper, casual labourer
X	12.00	12.00 Jan. - May	48.00	Hunter trapper
X	12.00	16.00 Feb. - May	20.00	Hunter trapper
X	22.00	88.00 Jan. - May	22.00	Casual labourer
X	32.00	128.00 Jan. - May	32.00	Hudson's Bay Co. clerk
X	12.00	8.00 Apr. 2.00 May	6.00	Widow, O.A.P.

(Continued)

TABLE 86.- (continued)

Household Head	Amount Assess (dollars)	Amount Paid (dollars)	Arrears (dollars)	Major Sources of Income
X	(May 10.00) 12.00	50.00 Jan. - May	10.00	Hunter trapper
X	Apr. 4.00 May 2.00	4.00	2.00	Husband in hospital
X	10.00	20.00 Mar. - May	10.00	Casual labourer
X	10.00	20.00 Mar. - May	10.00	Hunter trapper
X	30.00	30.00 credit Jan-Feb.		Hunter trapper

It should be anticipated that for the majority of renters, payment of rent will continue to be a difficulty. Few house occupants can be expected to accumulate extra furniture and utensils in addition to paying rents. Administration of rentals at the local level is made difficult by a local awareness of economic needs. The Area Administrator is frequently reduced to a compromise in the matter of housing rentals. Also eviction for failure to pay rents is not co-incident with the purpose of providing housing. In general, the housing rental scheme has proved to be more satisfactory to Eskimos with limited interests in ownership. Under the rental scheme, Eskimos get a quota of oil, water and electricity. Water and oil are delivered, and sewage and garbage are collected under the terms of the rental agreement.

Housing Authority Meetings

Meetings are called by the Housing Authority of Pond Inlet to discuss problems arising out of rental matters, the need for housing by various families, transfers from one unit to another and the collection of rent. The meeting is chaired by the Area Administrator who is assisted by three Eskimos occupying the positions of vice-chairman, secretary-treasurer, and property manager. The secretary-treasurer is the rent collector and acts as an intermediary between the government and individual Eskimos. Rent collections are tedious and time consuming.

TABLE 87 - Eskimo Rental Housing, Pond Inlet

Period	No. of Units Rented (dollars)	Rent Collected (dollars)	No. of Units for which no rent was collected
January, 1967	33	512.00	10
February	33	554.00	15
March	33	415.00	15
April	33	626.00	16
May	32	399.00	20
June	32	712.00	16
July	31	919.00	16
August	31	359.00	21
September	31	350.00	21
October	33	315.00	23

(Continued)

TABLE 87 - (continued)

Period	No. of Units Rented (dollars)	Rent Collected (dollars)	No. of Units for which no rent was collected
November	39	1,302.00	16
December	39	768.00	17
January, 1968	39	914.00	19
February	43	401.50	22

TABLE 88 - Eskimo Rental Housing Program by Settlement, 1967-1968

Settlement	No. of Units	Collected (dollars)	Arrears (dollars)	Average Monthly Rent Collected (dollars)
Pond Inlet	42	7,011.50	2,284.00	14.00 per month
Arctic Bay	28	4,654.89	155.11	17.00 " "
Resolute	6	708.00	nil	39.00 " "
Grise Fiord	16	2,326.00	68.00	16.00 " "
Igloolik	62	9,986.50	3,071.50	15.00 " "
Hall Beach	26	4,639.00	1,121.00	15.00 " "

Last two units included for comparative purposes. Higher rent in Resolute results from greater degree of wage employment.

In addition to the collection of rents, there have been additional benefits. Among these are the operation of housing associations and the assumption of some responsibility by the tenants in respect to maintenance programs.

The Pond Inlet Co-operative

In 1967 a Pond Inlet Co-operative was partly operational. On April 29, 1967, a meeting was called by those interested in forming a co-operative. Forty-four persons attended the meeting. Of these, thirty-four voted for having a co-operative to handle handicrafts, fish, furs for a start. It was suggested that later expansion might take the form of the establishment of a retail store similar to that at Resolute. A co-operative board was elected consisting of four men and a woman to act as representative of the women in the community. Training was requested for an Eskimo male, who was one of the main leaders in the community in the drive to establish a co-operative. The Area Administrator of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development made available for co-operative use a surplus building in the community where carvings and other handicrafts could be stored until they were sold.

The present status of the co-operative is rather confused. The president and the womens' representative have devoted a large amount of time to the encouragement and marketing of handicrafts. For this work, they have received no remuneration.

In general, the Pond Inlet Eskimos view a co-operative as an important enterprise, although they are vague as to the organization and functions of a co-operative. Certain advantages could be gained from the establishment of a co-operative at Pond Inlet. It would provide greater organization for the existing handicraft production and could lead to an expansion of the handicraft production into a more organized endeavour. Community development projects could be co-ordinated with the expansion of a co-operative in the community. The co-operative could provide organized marketing procedures. In contrast to Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, the Resolute and Grise Fiord Eskimos have had incorporated co-operatives since 1960, while the Igloolik co-operative has been in existence since 1963. In the first instance, the formation of a co-operative made possible the establishment of a retail store in a settlement lacking a store. The Igloolik co-operative was formed as a result of the enthusiasm of a local missionary. In 1967, a co-operative was formed at Pangnirtung following an active arts and crafts program. At Repulse Bay, N.W.T., a co-operative formed in 1968, has built up assets of \$16,000 through purchasing carvings. The people of both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay are most anxious to have co-operative development in their settlements. The delay has been over-long.

A Regional Co-operative Development Officer from Frobisher Bay visited Pond Inlet from June 11th to June 15th, 1968, following preliminary educational work carried out by the Area Administrator. A number of meetings were held with Eskimos interested in the formation of a co-operative. On August 21, 1968, the Toonoonik-Sahoonik Co-operative Ltd. was formed at Pond Inlet. The main objectives of the Co-operative are the production and marketing of carvings, Arctic char and handicrafts. Further educational work will be carried out during a visit of the Co-operative Development Officers to Pond Inlet in January, 1969. Arrangements are being completed for the attendance of a representative of the Pond Inlet Co-operative at the next Co-operative and Handicraft Management course to be held at the Western Co-operative College in the spring of 1969. Planning is now underway to station a Co-operative Development Officer at Resolute by September, 1969.

Handicraft Program, Pond Inlet

Development of a handicraft program at Pond Inlet remained largely unorganized until 1967, when procedures were arrived at for the purchase of handicrafts by vouchers negotiable at the Hudson's Bay Company. In prior years, production was dependent primarily on local demands and sales to visitors in the form of ship's crews and personnel of various agencies in the settlement. Attempts were made as early as 1962 to organize handicraft production with an emphasis on antler and ivory carvings. Both commodities are scarce in the area. While items such as toggles and hooks found sale in the south, production remained limited, due in part, to the scarcity of antler and ivory.

Handicraft Program, 1967

There has been a growing expansion of handicraft production in the settlement with an emphasis on the production of sealskin items followed by artifacts and carvings. Carving is restricted to the work of a small number of individuals. There are eight men who produce carvings on a more or less regular basis, while there are ten who produce artifacts. Sealskin items range from mitts, purses, and slippers, to parkas. A number of women also produce knitted goods for resale (toques and belts). Whalebone and soapstone are common commodities

for carving. One man consistently produces ivory work, (there are a standing order for ivory brooches carved by this man), while others work only if they happen to secure this material.

Two co-op members meet with the Area Administrator in his office on Saturday mornings. Items which have been produced during the week are displayed and priced. The Area Administrator leaves the responsibility for pricing up to the co-op members. There may be a reduction or increase in price as a result of comments during the display period. Then items are taken to the co-op store where prospective purchasers can look them over. There is a mark-up of fifty per cent beyond the price paid to co-op producers.

Arts and Crafts Production, Pond Inlet

Arts and crafts production in the Pond Inlet area may be divided into five categories. These are: artifacts, soapstone and whalebone carvings, sealskin items, knitwear, duffle.

The artifacts represent hunting implements and tools in use until contemporary times. Some items, particularly the ulu and the narwhal harpoon, have had a contemporary significance. The sealskin-dog packs, slings, bow drills, lamp trimmers, bow and arrows etc., are well-made and authentic in design. Older men and women enjoy producing these items. The soapstone and whalebone carvings are comparable to those produced in other Arctic settlements where arts and crafts production has not yet become overly commercialized. Two carvers produce whalebone carvings of a high artistic level, and another is an accomplished carver in soapstone. Women are much more involved in arts and crafts production and produce inlaid sealskin items (handbags, slippers, mats) in quantity. They also produce knitwear and duffle work, which are outgrowths of mission sponsored sewing circles. These are less saleable since they are lacking in local flavour and local materials are not utilized in their production.

TABLE 89 - Types of Arts and Crafts, Production by Month

Period	Type	Period	Type
May, 1967	12 carvings 13 artifacts 19 sewn, knitted articles	July, 1967	5 carvings 1 artifact 48 sewn, knitted articles
June, 1967	5 carvings 16 sewn, knitted articles	August, 1967	11 carvings 22 sewn, knitted articles

Handicraft production fell off in July, 1967. This was due to increased interest in hunting. Handicraft production again declined in December, 1967 due to a scarcity of funds available for purchase of carvings.

TABLE 90 - Sample Price Ranges of Arts and Crafts Items, Pond Inlet

Artifacts ^x	Carvings	Sealskin	Knitwear and Duffle
Sling, \$2.00	Owl and rabbit (whalebone), \$21.00	Handbag, \$12.00	Duffle mitts, \$7.00
Bow drill, \$8.00 - \$9.00	Bear hunt (white and black soapstone), \$30.00	Slippers (adult), \$7.00 - \$9.00	Duffle socks, \$7.50
Narwhal harpoon, \$30.00	Walrus hunt (soapstone), \$36.00	Inlaid rug, \$17.50	-
-	-	Sealskin parka (adult), \$40.00	-
-	-	Sealskin mitts, \$4.00	-

^xMathiassen's Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos, (1927) is a standard reference and contains a large number of illustrations.

TABLE 91 - Examples of Individual Arts and Crafts Returns, March, 1967 to December, 1967

Individual	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$
F	34.00	15.00	35.50	15.50	-	6.00	6.00	-	50.55	-
F	-	-	-	-	9.50	-	4.00	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	6.00	10.00	-	-	20.50	-
F	-	-	-	-	7.00	16.00	-	-	-	-
F	11.50	75.00	11.50	9.00	5.00	9.00	-	-	-	-
F	5.00	-	-	6.00	4.00	-	9.50	-	19.50	10.00
F	7.00	-	-	-	105.00	-	-	-	19.50	49.00
F	5.00	-	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	10.00
F	26.00	-	26.00	15.00	-	21.00	39.00	-	18.50	11.75
F	13.00	-	-	13.00	41.00	16.00	16.00	-	64.25	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	53.00	-	70.25	20.00
M	6.00	-	-	-	-	-	3.00	24.00	48.50	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.00
F	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	9.75	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	12.50	36.50	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.00	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.50	-	1.50	-
F	15.00	-	-	-	7.00	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	17.00	4.00	44.50	27.00	37.50	29.00	13.00	22.50

(Continued)

TABLE 91 - (continued)

Indivi- dual	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35.50	-
M	18.00	-	-	-	12.00	10.00	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	20.00	8.00
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.50	-
M	-	-	-	-	9.00	-	-	-	20.00	-
M	31.00	8.50	-	31.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	25.00	-	40.00	-	-	-	7.00
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.75	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00
F	-	-	-	-	-	45.00	-	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	7.00	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	-	-	-
M	33.00	17.00	43.00	-	-	30.00	-	-	11.00	65.00
M	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	4.00	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	13.00	-	-	2.50	6.00
F	-	-	-	-	-	56.00	-	-	26.75	-
M	-	2.50	-	5.00	-	24.00	24.00	-	53.50	-
F	35.00	50.00	8.00	10.00	25.00	12.00	36.00	5.00	-	-
M	9.00	-	9.00	-	-	-	40.00	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	12.00	21.00	14.50	31.50	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	7.00	32.00	10.00	4.50	-
F	-	-	-	45.00	-	7.00	-	-	-	-
M	12.00	-	-	-	13.00	4.00	4.00	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.50	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00
F	7.00	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	5.50	19.50	16.50	5.00	-	-
M	26.00	-	6.00	-	-	30.00	15.00	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.50	-	12.00	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.50	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	17.00	10.50	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	7.00	-	-	-	10.00	8.00	8.00	21.25
F	18.50	-	7.00	9.50	-	8.00	12.00	-	31.75	8.00
M	24.00	-	14.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M	19.00	-	3.00	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-
M	8.00	-	-	6.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	7.00	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	-	-
F	11.00	-	5.00	6.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	31.00	-	-	-	-	-
M	6.50	-	6.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	12.00	-	-	-	-	54.50	-	-	-	-
M	2.00	-	2.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	5.50	5.50	-	-	14.50	18.00	25.00	-	7.75	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.50	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	9.00	-	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	25.00	6.00	-	-	-	-

Anglican Church

The Anglican church plays a dominant role in the social life of the Pond Inlet Eskimos. Church organizations fill a vacuum in the social life in the settlement. Church services are held three times weekly (twice on Sunday and on Wednesday night). For this reason, dances are held on Friday nights rather than Saturday nights. In previous years, one missionary refused to permit dances or moving pictures, but recently there is a more relaxed attitude towards these social activities. For settlement Eskimos, the rule against hunting on Sunday is adhered to within sight and sound of the settlement, but the rules are frequently ignored when away from the settlement. There is a division of services as to language. Those non-Eskimos interested in attending church attend a service in the minister's home in the afternoons. The regular church services are given in Eskimo which cannot be understood by the white population. There is no seating division between the sexes during church services as was noted elsewhere. The minister is assisted by a local "lay preacher". There is no remuneration per se for the job but it has prestige in the community.

Anglican Vestry

The Anglican vestry at Pond Inlet was started in 1965. It is both an appointed and elected body. The vestry consists of ten Eskimo members, one of whom is a woman. The R.C.M.P. special constable is clerk and a young Eskimo is treasurer. The vestry decided on who would take over church functions in the absence of the missionary and chose the current catechist trainee. They also decided on reimbursing this man for time taken away from hunting or trapping or other work in the community. The main function of the vestry consists of handling local financial matters of the church. The vestry is assisted and advised by the minister. As yet the vestry has a limited function. The vestry is responsible for maintenance of the church. Work is voluntary in painting and cleaning the church and putting fuel oil in the stoves. Some of the most capable hunters, trappers and workers in the community play an active role in church functions.

Each family has an envelope for collection purposes.

Catechist

The position of catechist requires extensive training. The current trainee, a man of 28 will receive twelve months training from the minister in the home community and then attend a catechist school in Cape Dorset (with living allowance for himself and his family. After completion of training, the catechist receives \$800 - \$900 per annum. He may assist the missionary in the home community or go elsewhere. For example the Anglican minister at Igloodik trained under an Anglican missionary at Pond Inlet.

There are two other men who are not scheduled for training at the catechist school in Cape Dorset but receive training from the minister in the home community.

The Anglican Mission at Pond Inlet is supported by the Diocesan Missionary Fund of the Anglican Church of Canada. The Pond Inlet congregation contributes to this fund.

Roman Catholic Mission

Despite its early establishment, the Roman Catholic mission has met with little or no success in the Pond Inlet area. Two family units belong to the church and these are immigrants to the area, having moved from the Igloolik area. Services are held irregularly due to the activities of the missionary as an archaeologist, anthropologist. The missionary, with years of experience in the Arctic, provides a link and source of information for R.C.M.P. and D.I.A.N.D. personnel with older Eskimos. He serves on the board of the radio station. He is respected by Eskimos in the area as an older and wiser man than the other non-Eskimos in the community. The mission station is included in the annual visits of the Bishop. Radio contact is maintained with other missions and Eskimos use this service to contact friends and relatives in Igloolik. For a short duration a mission out-station was maintained at Nunasiag in Navy Board Inlet.

Community Activities

Boy Scouts and Cubs, Girl Guides and Brownies organizations exist in the community. These are, of course, active during the winter months. Activity declines during the summer due to the absence of non-Eskimo organizers from the settlement. Attendance is enthusiastic on the part of young people taking part in the activities. Community dances are held on alternative Fridays during the winter. National Film Board movies are shown every other week during the winter. In the summer, dances are held every Friday. Non-Eskimos do not participate in the community dances. Older Eskimos supervise the dances.

No alcoholic beverages are available to Eskimos in the community. Frobisher Bay is regarded as the antithesis of all that is good in the Eskimo way of life and the Pond Inlet Eskimos take considerable pride in not being drinkers of alcoholic beverages. This contrasts strongly with the situation in Igloolik and Hall Beach.

There is a community party at the school at Christmas time. Both Eskimos and non-Eskimos contribute food for the party. Each child (1-14 years of age) receives a small gift. Feasting and gift distribution are followed by dancing. Carol singing and Christmas Eve services are held at the Anglican church. Easter is mainly centered around church services. Spring games are held in May and are an outgrowth of traditional spring games and more recently the completion of coal mining activities. The games are held on the ice in front of the community with prizes contributed by the Eskimos. The games consist of foot races, dogteam and ski-doo races, etc.

Voice of the Arctic, The Radio Station at Pond Inlet

The establishment of a radio station at Pond Inlet resulted from the interest of an equipment mechanic in ham radio operation and his offer to make his equipment available as a broadcasting medium for local programs. The matter was brought to the attention of the Pond Inlet Area Council as a feasible project for the Community Development projects in the Pond Inlet area. A number of the younger Eskimos were enthusiastic about the formation of a radio station.

In March 1967, an advisory board was established consisting of three Eskimos,

the local priest and the equipment mechanic. Four announcers were selected consisting of two Eskimo girls and two Eskimo men, all in their late teens or early twenties. Eskimos were paid from Community Development funds. The broadcasting station was a spare room in the equipment mechanic's house. Broadcasting was carried out from 8 to 11 p.m. and consisted of local news and the playing of records and tapes. This was supplemented on Sundays by a church service in the late evening directed to Eskimos in the camps. The broadcasts interfered with other forms of air traffic, Hudson's Bay traffic, R.C.M.P. traffic and mission broadcasts and more important, the relay of weather information. In the winter of 1967, the station was licenced by the C.B.S. and given a 20 watt radio with a fixed crystal to prevent interference with other traffic. The Community Council applied for additional funds in order to operate the radio station.

As an income source, the radio station offers a source of income to the younger age group with some educational background. The earnings from operation of the radio station are tabled below. Persons engaged in radio announcing are limited in income earning capacity by the duration of the radio operation. It is difficult to envisage that programming could be extended beyond the daily programming now in operation.

TABLE 92 - Individual Incomes of Radio Announcers, Pond Inlet

Period	Announcer 1	Announcer 2	Announcer 3	Announcer 4
July, 1967	66.73	66.80	72.30	-
August, 1967	110.92	44.64	58.14	-
September, 1967	151.50	73.75	81.25	-
October, 1967	187.69	52.45	-	31.54

One hundred children and teenagers attend five Sunday school classes. There are three Eskimo Sunday school teachers in addition to the minister.

Anglican church women hold meetings on Thursday. These consist of devotion, reading and sewing. The women wish to adopt an orphan and have money set aside for this.

Conclusion

As a community, Pond Inlet is in a formative stage. The Eskimos are enthusiastic participants in various organizations and do not display the cynicism manifested in other northern communities where over paternalism has tended to weaken self-assertiveness. It is to be hoped that the economic base can be extended from a modified subsistence economy to a more viable one.

Some promise is afforded by Baffin Iron Mines as a potential new settlement location and a source of eventual employment for Pond Inlet Eskimos.

Income Estimates, Pond Inlet Area

The income estimates for 1954-1958 are based on income estimates made by the R.C.M.P. with some adjustments made in respect to wage employment and fur and welfare records. Income estimates are based on a year beginning in July

and ending June 30th. These coincide with game licence returns. The income estimates indicate the extent to which welfare and statutory payments had become of importance in the economy. Unlike fur and sealskin returns, these did not fluctuate on a monthly or annual basis and were of utmost importance in purchasing staples. Wage income did not become an important factor in the economy until the 1960's. For hunter and trappers, coal mining in April and sea-lift in September were the main periods when additional income could be secured.

TABLE 93 - Income Estimates, Pond Inlet Area, 1954 to 1958

Income Source	Population 1954-1955 6,205 (1955) (dollars)	Population 1956-1957 211 (1956) (dollars)	Population 1957-1958 270 (1958) (dollars)
Fur income	6,921.00	11,000.00 (including sealskins)	15,000.00 (including sealskins)
Sealskins	1,000.00	-	-
Family allowances	8,023.00	8,000.00	9,949.57
Welfare	1,932.00	2,000.00	1,930.00
Statutory payment	1,500.00	1,500.00	1,200.00
Coal mining	1,962.00	2,500.00	3,200.00
Wage employment	5,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
Miscellaneous	500.00	600.00	700.00
Totals	26,838.00	31,600.00	37,979.57

Wage Employment - largely restricted to individuals employed by H.B.Co., R.C.M.P.

TABLE 94 - Income Estimates, 1961 and 1963

The following statistics are available in respect to estimated income from all sources.

Income Source	1961 (dollars)	1963 (dollars)	Income Source	1961 (dollars)	1963 (dollars)
Fur and sealskins	18,000.00	13,110.25	Coal-Mining	4,000.00	4,000.00
Family allowance	12,000.00	12,500.00	Wage employment (all forms)	20,000.00	23,000.00
Welfare	4,500.00	4,500.00	Miscellaneous	1,500.00	2,000.00
Statutory payments	2,500.00	3,000.00			
Total				62,500.00	62,110.25

In the period between 1960 and 1963 there was a substantial increase in income from wage employment. In 1963, coal mining ceased as a major contributor to income as the agencies in the settlement turned to oil heat.

Supplementary Census

The 1961 supplementary census for the Pond Inlet area was conducted by the R.C.M.P. of the Pond Inlet detachment who were familiar with Eskimo families and incomes. Wage incomes for the majority consisted primarily of construction, coal mining and sea-lift. Fur incomes were small and were supplemented through handicraft production.

TABLE 95 - Supplementary Census, Pond Inlet Area, 1961

Sex	Age of Family Head	No. Dep.	Wage Income \$	Trapping \$	Handi-crafts \$	Social Assist. \$	F.A. \$	Location in Respect to Settlement
1. M	26	2	510.00	-	100.00	-	72.00	In settlement
2. M	32	5	500.00	25.00	25.00	-	312.00	" "
3. M	39	5	323.66	264.00	10.00	-	12.00	" "
4. M	44	3	3,200.00	-	100.00	-	240.00	" "
5. M	20	2	370.00	45.00	50.00	-	72.00	" "
6. M	43	9	3,500.00	100.00	610.00	-	360.00	" "
7. M	-	-	450.00	75.00	-	-	-	" "
8. M	70	6	-	-	-	140.00	720.00	" "
9. M	22	2	2,000.00	23.00	100.00	-	-	" "
10. M	67	6	-	-	5.00	-	720.00	" "
11. M	48	4	3,500.00	21.00	125.00	-	-	" "
12. M	18	0	260.00	230.00	25.00	-	-	" "
13. F	60	2	-	-	-	140.00	72.00	" "
14. M	17	1	220.00	-	150.00	-	-	" "
15. M	47	3	-	-	-	480.00	-	" "
16. M	21	0	140.00	-	-	-	-	" "
17. M	57	4	860.00	34.50	80.00	-	216.00	" "
18. M	15	0	16.00	11.50	-	-	-	" "
19. M	33	6	510.00	236.00	35.00	-	288.00	" "
20. M	23	2	300.00	46.00	25.00	-	312.00	" "
21. M	29	4	400.00	207.00	10.00	-	216.00	" "
22. M	25	2	300.00	138.00	10.00	-	72.00	" "
23. M	49	3	480.00	92.00	5.00	-	144.00	" "
24. M	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	" "
25. M	24	1	466.78	115.00	7.00	-	-	10 miles
26. M	38	6	300.00	150.00	20.00	-	288.00	10 "
27. M	19	1	470.00	23.00	-	-	-	10 "
28. M	30	4	277.97	111.50	-	-	288.00	10 "
29. M	68	0	240.00	34.50	10.00	-	720.00	40 "
30. M	32	2	225.00	111.50	112.00	-	72.00	40 "
31. M	23	2	250.00	126.50	65.00	-	72.00	40 "
32. M	25	1	270.00	-	20.00	-	-	40 "
33. M	49	4	200.00	40.00	-	-	144.00	120 "
34. M	44	6	800.00	-	20.00	-	144.00	15 "

(Continued)

TABLE 95 - (continued)

Sex	Age of Family Head	No. Dep.	Wage Income \$	Trapping \$	Handicrafts \$	Social Assist. \$	F.A. \$	Location in Respect to Settlement
35. M	33	6	470.00	57.50	-	-	174.00	15 miles
36. M	54	7	-	54.00	5.00	245.00	72.00	53 "
37. M	19	0	290.00	184.00	15.00	-	-	53 "
38. M	66	0	-	115.00	8.00	-	885.00	53 "
39. M	29	4	35.00	207.00	-	-	216.00	55 "
40. M	33	5	220.00	208.00	-	-	216.00	55 "
41. M	26	0	220.00	241.50	-	-	-	55 "
42. M	33	5	250.00	172.50	51.00	-	144.00	53 "
43. M	55	5	20.00	23.00	12.00	-	144.00	53 "
44. M	44	5	200.00	46.00	105.00	-	72.00	53 "
45. M	61	0	-	-	70.00	-	-	53 "
46. M	32	4	300.00	172.50	75.00	-	144.00	40 "
47. M	47	6	290.00	379.50	-	-	216.00	40 "
48. M	24	3	212.00	223.00	28.00	-	144.00	40 "
49. M	21	1	71.00	138.00	-	-	-	40 "
50. M	28	3	500.00	92.00	100.00	-	72.00	20 "
51. M	60	1	-	-	50.00	480.00	72.00	20 "
52. M	26	3	400.00	-	100.00	-	144.00	20 "
53. M	53	5	340.00	111.50	10.00	-	216.00	65 "
54. M	37	7	340.00	176.00	28.00	-	288.00	65 "
55. M	27	3	140.00	276.00	15.00	-	144.00	65 "
56. M	50	7	350.00	23.00	16.00	-	144.00	65 "
57. M	40	6	190.00	-	20.00	-	-	65 "
58. M	49	4	-	-	26.00	300.00	288.00	83 "
59. M	29	7	300.00	800.00	61.00	-	432.00	83 "
60. M	21	3	250.00	517.50	15.00	-	72.00	83 "
Total			27,042.41	6,696.50	2,529.00	1,785.00	9,269.00	

Females designated as family heads are widows (with exception of two unmarried mothers). Males listed with no dependents are part of preceding family units.

Permanent employment and casual labour	\$27,042.41
Trapping	6,696.50
Handicrafts	2,529.00
Social assistance	1,785.00
Family Allowances	9,269.00
Total	\$47,321.91

No. of family units listed 55, average income per family unit, \$860.39.

In 1965, an income survey was conducted in conjunction with a housing survey. The income assessment covered a twelve-month period in 1964 and early 1965. An

examination of available records for the period indicates that the income statistics may be considered as being fairly reliable. In general, incomes were low considering family size. In 1964-1965, social assistance reached a high of \$9,500.00 from \$2,581.00 for the 1963-1964 period.

For hunters and trappers living in simple forms of housing, and harvesting their food and heating requirements, these incomes were not as low as they would have been for individuals purchasing both store foods and heating and cooking fuels. At best, the incomes indicated that only minimal payments or rents could be charged for housing.

Range of Incomes According to 1965 Housing Survey

The income ranges were as follows: 8 families, (\$0 - \$500); 19 families, (\$501 - \$1,000); 34 families, (\$1,001 - \$3,000); 3 families, (\$2,001 - \$3,000); 5 families, (\$3,001 or more). The bulk of the family units were in the \$501 to \$2,000 dollar earning group. Those in higher brackets were occupying permanent employment categories.

TABLE 96 - Incomes Family Units, Pond Inlet, 1964

Family Head (sex)	No. of Dep.	Income (dollars)	Family Head (sex)	No. of Dep.	Income (dollars)
1. M	6	1,060	31. M	5	1,450
2. M	1	1,200	32. M	5	1,250
3. M	3	1,072	33. M	5	3,315
4. M	7	1,220	34. F	0	900
5. F	3	696	35. M	2	2,700
6. M	3	872	36. F	4	850
7. M	5	760	37. F	3	1,950
8. M	3	872	38. M	2	1,000
9. M	7	1,640	39. M	4	1,840
10. M	4	1,540	40. F	2	600
11. M	5	580	41. M	0	600
12. M	4	1,100	42. M	3	972
13. M	4	840	43. M	2	700
14. M	4	1,070	44. M	6	900
15. M	6	1,750	45. M	4	1,360
16. M	3	700	46. M	9	3,600
17. M	6	1,640	47. F	5	750
18. M	7	1,340	48. M	6	1,140
19. M	4	1,040	49. M	7	1,350
20. M	6	1,340	50. M	9	1,360
21. M	0	1,100	51. M	3	5,072
22. M	5	950	52. M	7	1,840
23. M	7	850	53. M	7	950
24. M	6	1,340	54. M	1	1,600
25. M	4	680	55. M	5	2,840
26. M	8	1,820	56. M	4	1,140
27. M	2	400	57. M	6	1,350
28. F	3	890	58. M	11	5,500

(Continued)

TABLE 96 - (continued)

Family Head (sex)	No. of Dep.	Income (dollars)	Family Head (sex)	No. of Dep.	Income (dollars)
29. M	5	1,120	59. M	6	3,380
30. M	3	772	60. M	10	2,920
					87,433 ³⁴

³⁴Exclusive of social assistance or country food. Total Number of family units 57, 3 persons without dependents (of this group two persons with incomes of \$1,100 and \$900 old age pensioners).

TABLE 97 - Income Breakdown, June 1966 to June 1967

INCOME BREAKDOWN JUNE 1966 - JUNE 1967

	Wage Income	Prevailing Rate	Construction	Commun. Devel.	Service Contracts	Cas. Lab. & Main.	White Fox	Seal skins	Soc. Assist.	St. Payments	F.A.	Handicrafts	O.P.
June 1966	912.00-3	831.00 786.26			474.00-4	243.00-5 324.48-5		1245.86	252.96-15	300.00	1290	60.00	51.00-1
July	912.00-3	1581.64-4 566.01	592.48-8 566.01			190.32-2		4036.80	330.00-25	300.00	1290	75.00	51.00-1
August	912.00-3	861.69-4 894.18	976.65-8 1076.65			258.96-10 166.92		2822.50	330.00-16	300.00	1290	150.00	51.00-1
Sept.	912.00-3	1058.25-4 806.57	1418.60-14 1305.80		30.00-2	280.44-1500 159.90- 287.08-37 700.00		1356.55	404.92-21	300.00	1290	80.00	51.00-1
Oct.	1386.00-5	763.86-4	2753.98-24 2223.97-24		300.00-2 525.00-1	201.72-3		941.70	358.82-18	300.00	1290	45.00	51.00-1
Nov.	1386.00-5	763.86-4 763.86	1943.05-28 2282.78		300.00-2	196.24-4 189.42-4		1624.50	397.52-24	300.00	1290	35.00	51.00-1
Dec.	1386.00-5	768.46-4 736.42	2522.16-22 1412.00		300.00-2	580.27-1 219.32-2 72.92-1	200.00	848.25	589.24-31	300.00	1290	125.00	51.00-1
Jan. 1967	1386.00-5*	763.21-4 523.72	2435.94-6 471.07	1217.63-20	400.00-3	299.13-3 373.15-5	171.00	599.00	448.94-38	300.00	1290	60.00-6	51.00-1
Feb.	1386.00-5	812.73-4 927.00	432.93-4	1414.42-25	400.00-3	432.30-6 293.88-6	670.00	869.25	417.73-36	375.00	1290	45.00-4	51.00-1
Mar.	1386.00-5	808.17-4 476.72		1107.86-25	400.00-3	435.33-5	1221.00	772.00	513.22-35	375.00	1290	95.50-7	51.00-1
April	1386.00-5	890.17-4 850.14		520.56-22		366.67-8 418.79-8	483.00	937.70	833.67-55	375.00	1290	48.00-7	51.00-1
May	1386.00-5	1125.27-4		732.28-27	400.00-3	643.28-7 235.22-4	470.55	538.00	802.88-49	375.00	1290	222.50-43	51.00-1
June	1386.00-5	800.00-4 933.86		357.86-14	400.00-3	404.07-5 465.49-10	237.00	94.25	760.09-67	375.00	1290	300.00-26	51.00-1
Total	\$16122.00	19527.00	22414.07	5350.61	4629.00	8078.30	3452.55	16686.36	6439.99	4275.00	16770.00	1341.00	663.00

Total Income all Sources 127,963.91

Per Capita Income \$375.21

*No of persons employed or receiving benefits follows amounts.

Chapter VII - The Settlement of Arctic Bay

The settlement of Arctic Bay (73°N, 85°18'W) consists of a ribbon development extending for a half a mile on a west-east direction at the northern end of Arctic Bay. In 1967, the population consisted of 159 Eskimos and 9 non-Eskimos.

Surface Conditions

Surface conditions in the settlement vary. There are well-grassed areas in the northern half of the settlement in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company and old D.O.T. buildings. In the southern half of the settlement, the vegetation has disappeared due to the construction of building pads. And in the surrounding area, the ground rises away from the settlement on a varying angle.

Subsurface conditions vary from clays intermixed with gravel to humus and dark brown or black tundra soils overlaying permafrost. Due to permafrost, the ground tends to be soft during the spring thaw but run-off is rapid. Vegetation is sparse on the clay and gravel areas. The beach area consists of sedimentary gravels and varies in width from twenty to sixty feet providing an excellent base for landing barges. In the southern half of the settlement area, beach gravels have been used in building pads and street development within the settled area without affecting the beach for landing purposes. Excellent anchorage is available one half mile off the settlement. The tide is approximately twelve feet.

Landing Strips

There are two landing strips in Arctic Bay. One is five miles southeast of the settlement, one quarter of a mile from the beach. It is used in July and August, and the trip between the airstrip and the settlement, to meet planes has to be made by boat. While the ground is rough, this site offers one of the better locations for expanded landing facilities. A tractor road could be constructed to connect the airstrip to the settlement for easier transportation. However, a new landing strip was constructed in June and July 1967. It is located 500 feet west of the settlement. It has a length of 1,050 feet and consists of leveled gravel. This strip could be extended to meet the landing requirements of larger aircraft. In winter, an ice strip is situated in front of the settlement and maintained by the equipment mechanic. The flight approach is from the south.

Roads

A rectangular street system has been developed in the new Eskimo housing area in the eastern half of the settlement.

Water

Water supplies are drawn from a small freshwater lake north of the settlement. Ice is also obtained here for settlement use. Due to the steep grade from the lake (elevation approximately 400 feet) to the settlement, it is a simple matter to pipe water into the settlement in the summer by plastic pipe using gravity flow. During the winter, Eskimos melt snow gathered from the surrounding area.

Plate 5



The Arctic Bay Community

Plate 6



D.I.A.N.D. Sector of the Arctic Bay Community

In the spring, before plastic pipe has been laid they frequently tap nearby meltwater pools and drainage ditches. This practice presents some health problems.

In the period in September before ice forms to sufficient thickness for cutting, water is taken from a lake three miles southeast of the settlement.

In general, despite a ribbon development, the settlement is compact. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development facilities are well distributed in a compact housing area. The Hudson's Bay facilities are in the western part of the settlement, a short distance west of the housing area.

Building of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The following building types were listed:

<u>Type of Buildings</u>	<u>Year Completed</u>
Two classroom school 44' x 80'	1967
Three bedroom house for education 28' x 32'	1966
Two bedroom house 20' x 40'	1963
One bedroom house 16' x 28'	1963
Fourteen bed hostel	1967
Powerhouse 22' x 34'	1966
Three warehouses	1958, 1963, 1966
A one room school 24' x 44'	1963

<u>Hudson's Bay Company</u>	<u>D.O.T.</u>	<u>Other Organizations</u>
Store 44' x 24' (new store being erected, 1967)	Powerhouse leased to Hudson's Bay Company	Roman Catholic Mission Church (closed)
Three frame warehouse	Two warehouses	Anglican Mission
One small explosive ammunition shack	-	-
One post residence	-	-

Mail Services, Arctic Bay

Mail services in Arctic Bay are disorganized due to the absence of an established post office. The school teacher or the Hudson's Bay Company manager handle incoming or outgoing mail. Stamps are always in short supply. The lack of facilities could be improved by establishing a post office and paying one of the Eskimos in the community a stipend for operating it. Some assistance could be provided by the teacher.

Telephone System

The Hudson's Bay Company manager is the operator and agent of the Bell Telephone Company in Arctic Bay and a telegraph service is also provided through the Hudson's Bay Company. A local telephone circuit serves the Hudson's Bay Company, the teacher and the equipment mechanic. No Eskimos have this service.

TABLE 98 - Fuel and Diesel Oil Consumption Rates,
April 1966 to November 1967, Arctic Bay

Month	Fuel Oil in gallons	Diesel Oil in gallons	Month	Fuel Oil in gallons	Diesel Oil in gallons
April, 1966	1,080	450	February, 1967	4,545	1,826
May	807	450	March	4,140	2,220
June	1,345	1,120	April	2,925	1,240
July	1,365	1,360	May	2,565	2,450

(Continued)

TABLE 98 - (continued)

Month	Fuel Oil in gallons	Diesel Oil in gallons	Month	Fuel Oil in gallons	Diesel Oil in gallons
August, 1966	1,025	1,814	June, 1967	1,800	2,425
September	6,000	-	July	2,115	2,160
October	6,000	-	August	2,295	-
November	6,000	-	September	4,900	2,280
December	4,680	2,115	October	6,895	2,305
January, 1967	4,590	2,015	November, 1967	10,260	2,100

Fuel oil is supplied to Eskimo rental housing as part of the rental program.

D.I.A.N.D. Equipment

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development listed the following equipment: one case 750 tractor (1965), one snow bug, two normandy wagons with hydraulic platforms, one front end loader, international harvester, chain saw (on loan to Pond Inlet), cement mixer, Herman Nelson heater, ski-doo (non-operational), 18 horse power motor, 22' canoe.

Power

Power is supplied to the settlement by two Rolls Royce diesel generators with a 60 K.W. capacity. A power distribution system has been constructed in the community.

The Non-Eskimo Population, 1967

The non-Eskimo population in 1967 consisted of the following: Hudson's Bay Company manager and wife, a clerk, D.I.A.N.D. teacher, wife and child, D.I.A.N.D. equipment mechanic and wife, N.H. nurse. The total non-Eskimo population was nine. There is no Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment at this location and matters of concern to the R.C.M.P. are handled by the detachment at Pond Inlet.

Function of Non-Eskimo Population

In addition to the normal functions of teaching, the teacher performs the duties of an acting Area Administrator for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. He administers the handicraft, housing programs and local welfare matters on the advice and assistance of the Area Administrator at Pond Inlet. The Hudson's Bay Company manager, in addition to managing the store, also handles telephone and communications. He is the registrar of vital statistics and administers **family allowances and pensions**. An unofficial post office is under his direction. He also carries out weather observations for the Department of Transport. Up until September 1967, the Hudson's Bay Company manager was the local lay dispenser. In 1966-1967, he received assistance from the nursing station at Pond Inlet and in September, 1967, a Northern Health Service nurse was placed in the community. The equipment mechanic of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is responsible for the operation of the powerhouse and other Department equipment. He is also responsible for water supply, maintenance services for the Department

housing and Eskimo rental housing. In addition, he is responsible for airstrip maintenance.

The Eskimo population of Admiralty Inlet was grouped in the following manner in August 1967:

TABLE 99- Eskimo Population, 1967

Location	No. of Family Units	Population
Arctic Bay	26 plus 1 spinster	121
Koogalalek	8	25
Avartok	4	20
Strathcona Sound (summer)	4	20
Fort Ross group (in Arctic Bay)	4	18
Totals	46	204

The total number of families was 46 units plus one spinster. The sex ratio was almost evenly balanced with 49.5 per cent males. The population is predominantly young with 57.9 per cent of the population below 20 years of age. Of the 46 family units, 12 young couples have no children. There are two widows and one widower. The average number of children below 15 years of age for the 34 family units with children is 3.

In the period between 1961 and 1967 there has been a large influx of Eskimos into the settlement

TABLE 100 - Population Distribution, 1961

1961	Eskimo	White	Total
Living in settlement	44 (24%)	3	47
Trading in	139	-	139
	183	3	186

There were 12 Eskimo families living in the settlement. Six were in houses

TABLE 101 - Population Distribution, 1967

1967	Eskimo	White	Total
Living in settlement	159 (74%)	9	168
Trading in	55 (26%)	-	55
	214	9	223

Eskimo Camps, Admiralty Inlet Area

In 1967, there were two camps in existence in the Admiralty Inlet area. These were Koogalalek and Avartok (Abvartok). Koogalalek is located fifteen miles southwest of Arctic Bay. The main advantage of Koogalalek is its ready accessibility to ringed seals both in winter and summer. Egoalulik the main fishing area lies due south. The population of Koogalalek totalled 35 in the spring of 1967 and consisted of eight family units including a widower with a small daughter. There were seven active hunters and one teenager. Housing consisted of three Departmental housing units and one qarmat. The group was composed of Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung and local Tununirusirmiut Eskimos. No camp boss was in existence.

Avartok (Abvartok)

Avartok is located on the northwest tip of Strathcona Sound and as a location is a more advantageous location than Arctic Bay in terms of seal and whale hunting. Break-up occurs earlier at Avartok than either Arctic Bay or Koogalalek. This camp is headed by a capable and energetic camp boss who is an able hunter and trapper. In addition he has attended vocational training course (marine engine room training course) in Halifax. The seven family units are joined by family units from Arctic Bay for the spring and summer hunting periods. In 1967, this group had four motors (5, 7, 10, 18) four skiffs and two freight canoes. A whaleboat had been left on an island in the central part of Admiralty Inlet due to a breakdown. The group has been involved in summer work with Strathcona Sound and the camp boss is foreman of the Eskimo work crew. In 1967, four family units camped at Strathcona Sound while working for Texas Gulf and Sulphur.

FIGURE 26 - Population Pyramid, Admiralty Inlet Eskimo Population

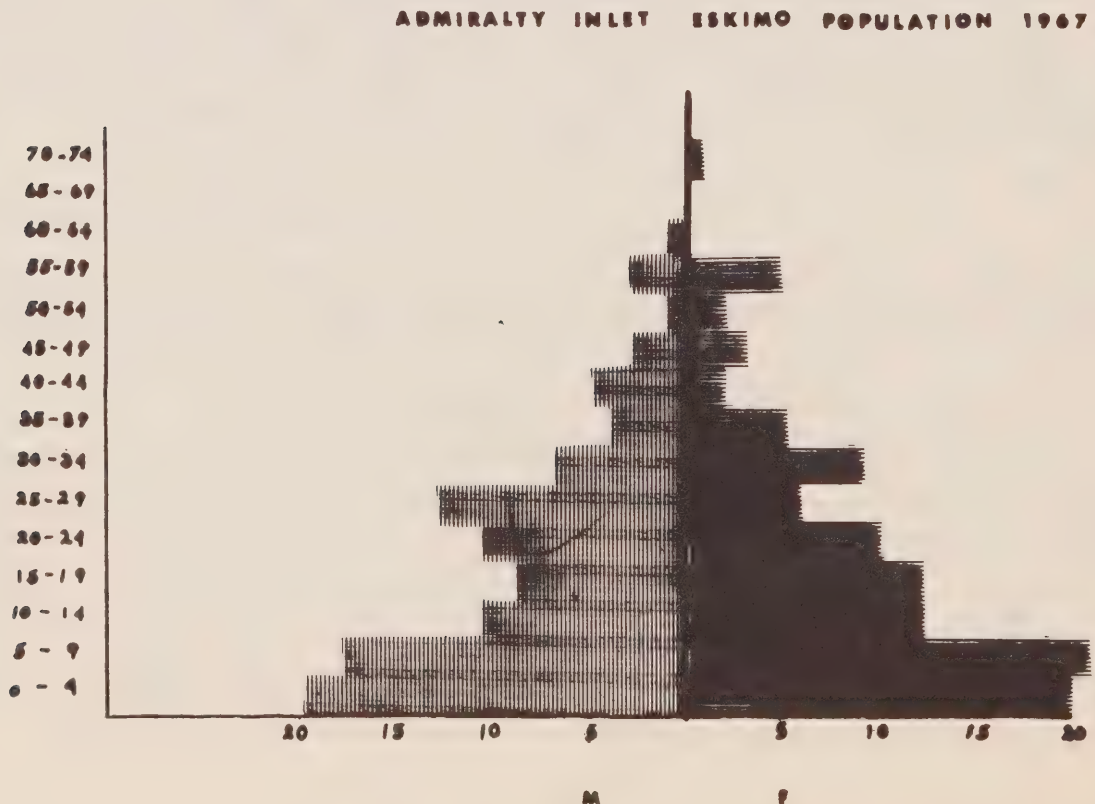


TABLE 102 - Hypothetical Labour Force Based on
Population Statistics

Age Range	Male	Female	Age Range	Male	Female
60-64	1	0	35-39	4	5
55-59	3	5	30-34	7	9
50-54	1	2	25-29	13	6
45-49	3	3	20-24	11	10
40-44	5	2	15-19	9	12
				57	54

The permanently employed sector of the population amounts to 4.5 per cent of the available labour force. Fifty-four per cent of the labour force is below the age of thirty. On the assumption that the most adaptable group in terms of training and acquisition of skills consists of the 15-24 year age group, there are twenty males (and twenty-two females) who should be provided with training in the immediate future. If there is no increased involvement in education programs, twenty-nine males will be entering the labour market over the next ten years. (The females are bracketed since they normally marry at an early age). The slow advance in education is alarming in terms of preparing the population for wage employment. The expansion of school facilities and teaching staff will ameliorate conditions. If we assume Arctic Bay is a holding community with an imminent decline in the subsistence economy, we must look elsewhere beyond the immediate resource area for solution to improve the existing economy.

Permanent Forms of Employment in Arctic Bay Available to Eskimos

Permanent forms of employment are extremely limited in Arctic Bay and have not changed radically in the last seven years.

The following forms of employment were listed in 1967: Hudson's Bay Company (2 male clerks), D.I.A.N.D. (male janitor, female classroom assistant), male mechanic helper, N.H.S. (caretaker-janitor).

The Eskimo clerks at the Hudson's Bay Company receive \$225.00 a month and \$190.00 a month respectively. The latter is a new employee hired in July, 1967. Clerks reside in housing owned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The school janitor and the equipment mechanic helper receive hourly wages at the prevailing rate of \$2.05 per hour. The classroom assistant receives \$1,250.00 per annum or \$125.00 a month for 20 hours of work each week. There is a \$300 allotment to permit the teacher to hire dogteams to visit camps. A similar amount is provided for an adult Eskimo to teach syllabics to children.

Casual Employment with Construction Crews

Casual employment with construction crews has been an important source of revenue for Arctic Bay Eskimos. Eskimos occupied the following work categories

in 1967: 1 cook assistant, 1 laundress, 2 heavy equipment operators, 5 regular labourers, 5 additional part-time labourers.

Incidental employment available during the year consists of ice cutting, snow clearance, sea-lift and minor jobs about the settlement. For the majority of the labour force, there is a complete lull in employment from the period of mid-December to July and the arrival of a construction crew.

Texas Gulf and Sulphur, Strathcona Sound

Prospecting work commenced in 1957 on a lead and zinc deposit at Strathcona Sound. Local Eskimos were employed from the beginning as seasonal labourers in the program for approximately three months each year during the summer. In 1958, Eskimos were paid \$6.00 a day and the geologist in charge was well satisfied with the work performance of hunter-trappers with minimal language ability and work experience.

Five Eskimos from Avartok camp are regularly employed at \$15.00 per day each summer and casuals are employed as needed at \$11.00 per day. The period of employment lasts from three to four months depending on program commitments. The Eskimos move to a camp located two miles from the mine property. In addition to wages, they receive substantial amounts of food. The estimated total annual Eskimo income from employment on the mining property amounts to \$5,000. In the winter of 1967-1968, one Eskimo was employed on a retainer at \$125.00 a month to take sea-ice thickness measurements in Strathcona Sound. Pending development of the Texas Gulf and Sulphur Property, the project engineer has estimated that probable employment would range in the vicinity of between fifty and a hundred men (of which 90 per cent would be Eskimo).

The project engineer has stressed the importance of learning English as a requirement for Eskimo employment and the development of rudimentary skills such as reading, writing and elementary mathematics. He has expressed the view that short-term vocational courses as administered by D.I.A.N.D. will not enable Eskimos to compete with skilled non-Eskimo workers with some years of academic and technical training.¹

Income Estimates

In 1956-1957, the total estimated income was \$23,700 while in 1957-1958, the total income was \$30,500 for 174 people. In 1956-1957 fur yield amounted to \$16,000, while in 1957-1958 fur yield amounted to \$22,000 income. The remaining sectors of the income consisted of family allowances and government relief payments.

The following estimates have been given in respect to income of the Eskimo population of the Admiralty Inlet, Arctic Bay area in 1960-1961: fur yield, \$18,000.00; employment, \$3,500.00; government relief, \$2,640.00; family allowances, \$5,000.00. Total \$29,140.00. The total population was 183 which gave an average annual income of only \$159.23. In 1961, seventy-six per cent of the population was located in camps.

¹Personal communication, Projects Engineer, Texas Gulf and Sulphur.

In 1965, there were fourteen family units in the settlement of Arctic Bay. Three of these were in semi-permanent positions with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Three family units were situated in the settlement for reasons of old age. One family was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The remainder had settled in the settlement as part-time workers and hunters and trappers.

TABLE 103 - Examples of Estimated Incomes of Arctic Bay Settlement Eskimos, 1964

Family Head	Age	Dep.	Wages (dollars)	Trapping (dollars)	F.A. (dollars)	O.A.S. (dollars)	S.A. (dollars)
M	56	2	240.00	500.00	80.00	240.00	-
M	22	2	80.00	400.00	80.00	-	-
M	53	8	300.00	-	350.00	-	840.00
M	42	7	1,800.00	300.00	280.00	-	-
M	36	7	1,200.00	400.00	424.00	-	-
M	52	1	100.00 from community	-	-	-	480.00
M	28	6	60.00	700.00	210.00	-	-
M	26	5	300.00	500.00	210.00	-	-

TABLE 104 - Income of Camp Eskimos, Arctic Bay, 1964*

Family Head	Age	Dep.	Wages (dollars)	Trapping (dollars)	S.A. (dollars)	F.A. (dollars)	O.A. (dollars)	Total (dollars)
M	57	4	80.00	300.00	-	160.00	-	1,260.00
M	52	8	-	800.00	-	280.00	-	1,080.00
M	27	4	200.00	500.00	-	210.00	-	910.00
F	73	0	-	-	-	-	720.00	720.00
M	34	5	-	300.00	-	210.00	-	510.00
M	28	3	-	600.00	50.00	140.00	-	790.00
M	44	3	-	700.00	50.00	70.00	-	820.00
M	22	2	20.00	500.00	25.00	80.00	-	625.00
M	30	2	20.00	500.00	50.00	70.00	-	640.00
M	42	4	-	800.00	-	420.00	-	1,220.00
M	46	5	-	600.00	85.00	210.00	-	885.00
M	27	3	50.00	400.00	-	72.00	-	522.00
M	57	4	-	50.00	-	140.00	-	190.00
M	47	5	-	900.00	-	280.00	-	1,180.00
M	30	4	-	400.00	50.00	210.00	-	660.00
M	47	7	200.00	400.00	-	350.00	-	950.00
M	25	6	-	500.00	-	480.00	-	980.00
M	33	5	100.00	600.00	-	210.00	-	910.00
Totals			670.00	8,850.00	310.00	4,112.00	720.00	14,852.00

*These figures exclude the value of country food.

Individual Fur and Sealskin Incomes, 1966-1967

The majority of individual fur and sealskin incomes fell below \$1,000. Extreme variability occurred within these limits. Monthly incomes vary within the twelve month period. The limited and irregular returns from the fur and sealskin base promote a greater interest in remaining in the settlement where casual employment or more frequently social assistance can be used to eke out an existence.

TABLE 105 - Fur and Sealskin Incomes, 1966-1967

Hunter	Location		Polar Bear	Fox	Seal	Total (in dollars)
	Camp	Settlement				
1	X	-	-	1	-	18.00
2	X	-	-	33	3	495.00
3	X	-	-	14	21	357.70
4	X	-	5	11	37	951.00
5	X	-	1	1	39	337.00
6	X	-	-	25	53	801.50
7	X	-	-	1	7	40.72
8	X	-	-	2	6	56.75
9	-	X (F.T.)	-	3	-	50.00
10	-	X	-	13	12	264.00
11	X	-	-	7	8	252.00
12	X	-	-	20	17	471.80
13	-	X (F.T.)	-	4	5	110.00
14	-	X	-	31	20	653.00
15	-	X	1	25	29	639.00
16	-	X	-	24	26	545.00
17	X	-	1	13	39	534.25
18	X	-	-	-	12	84.00
19	-	X	-	25	28	534.50

F.T. - Full time employed

(Continued)

TABLE 105 - (continued)

Hunter	Location		Polar Bear	Fox	Seal	Total (in dollars)
	Camp	Settlement				
20	-	X	3	28	18	606.50
21	-	X	-	1	4	38.00
22	-	X	-	26	34	719.00
23	-	X	1	28	36	819.25
24	X	-	3	22	33	951.00
25	-	X	-	3	51	377.93
26	-	X	-	2	22	168.95
27	-	X	-	17	52	717.50
28	-	X	-	4	57	512.80
29	X	-	-	-	25	164.50
30	X	-	-	14	70	680.75
31	X	-	3	115	103	2,991.00
32	X	-	-	1	32	226.50
33	-	X	-	10	49	507.00
34	-	X	-	5	9	163.00
35	X	-	-	30	53	784.62
36	X	-	-	1	41	271.50
37	X	-	-	11	27	349.50
38	X	-	-	12	73	666.00
39	X	-	-	1	4	62.00
Totals			18	386	683	18,982.02

TABLE 106 - Sampling of Fur and Sealskin Returns for Camp Eskimos, Arctic Bay

Sampling of Fur and Sealskin Returns for Camp Eskimos, Arctic Bay																											Avartok Camp											
Koogalelek Camp																																						
	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T	P	F	S	T										
July 1966																																						
August						5	35.00																															
September								14	93.00			20	130.00																									
October								5	35.00																													
November								5	159.00																													
December						11	77.00	1				1	13	99.00																								
January								1	4	202.00																												
February						5	2	130.20																														
March																																						
April																																						
May																																						
June 1967																																						
TOTALS	33	3				14	16	\$357.70	5	11	37	\$951.00	1	36	\$337.50	1																						

P - polar bear
F - fox
S - seal

TABLE 107 - Individual Incomes, D.I.A.N.D. Employment, 1966

	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$	Total \$
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	234.63	235.24	196.44	99.61	-	765.92
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	206.78	-	-	206.78
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	323.35	60.56	-	-	-	383.91
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	210.56	-	-	210.56
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	224.32	-	-	224.32
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.75	-	-	-	46.75
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.22	-	-	-	66.22
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	160.49	16.91	-	-	-	177.40
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.40	327.64	-	-	-	344.04
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	194.60	-	-	-	194.60
M	-	-	-	-	1.95	-	142.15	-	482.63	51.85	89.63	168.81	937.01
M	-	-	-	-	15.60	198.97	193.71	-	241.49	40.71	-	244.00	934.48
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.43	-	-	-	-	96.43
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.05	48.51	-	-	-	48.51
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.05
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	181.91	35.10	-	-	217.01
M	225.15	291.71	270.27	-	701.48	487.48	211.04	-	-	-	-	-	2,187.25
M	343.23	282.34	253.20	257.42	330.90	438.85	344.78	-	268.91	-	190.09	370.47	3,080.19
M	-	-	-	-	-	198.97	133.71	326.60	230.24	16.40	-	-	905.92
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	129.14	323.17	452.31
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	323.85	458.00	206.78	289.18	33.21	1,302.02
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	323.85	480.69	408.69	174.61	14.76	1,408.60
M	-	-	-	-	-	198.97	117.31	-	237.46	533.56	280.18	66.21	1,433.69
M	-	-	-	-	-	198.97	-	360.27	277.02	204.61	196.31	290.89	1,528.07
M	-	-	-	-	-	187.20	-	-	215.56	46.00	171.98	352.59	937.33
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75.00	75.00
M	-	-	145.89	-	-	-	-	-	55.67	44.76	-	-	247.32
M	-	284.70	337.62	366.80	18.45	72.65	39.00	-	32.66	-	-	-	1,151.88
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	332.08	168.81	168.81	282.40	-	-	500.89
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	282.40
M	-	-	-	-	-	186.65	-	-	-	-	-	-	186.65
M	-	-	-	-	-	198.97	123.04	-	-	42.73	-	-	355.74
M	-	-	-	-	-	117.31	16.40	323.85	265.81	467.71	228.05	-	2,838.26
M	-	-	-	-	-	174.48	-	123.04	-	-	129.14	150.00	576.66

As illustrated by the statistics, the majority of incomes were low and insufficient to provide for more than the bare necessities. In a number of cases the income was inadequate and due to lack of casual labour during the winter months had to be supplemented with social assistance. The family allowance payments, while small, represent the only stable source of income upon which many Eskimos can depend from month to month. There were exceptions to the generally low incomes from trapping and seal hunting. The highest income was earned by the most capable hunter and trapper. During good fox years, the failure of trappers is a result of failing to establish food caches and a general lack of organization and interest in trapping. There are two major factors which tend to affect trapping. These are fluctuations in prices and cyclical fluctuations.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Employment, 1966

Income from Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development employment for 1966 has been delimited for individual wage earners. As can be seen from the following statistics, the majority of Eskimos realized incomes from construction from August to December. During the winter period there was limited employment available in the form of prevailing rate and casual employment offered to a few individuals. The Eskimos must rely on the returns of hunting and trapping, the production of carvings, social assistance and family allowance as income sources. This cyclical fluctuation in income during the year has become well established in eastern Arctic communities where construction following the annual sea-lift is the major source of wage employment for the majority of Eskimos. This pattern affects the subsistence economy in the sense that Eskimos neglect to establish caches vital to a successful operation of traplines to take advantage of the first run of Arctic fox in November and December.

TABLE 108 - Individual Incomes Realized from D.I.A.N.D.
Employment, January to June 1967

Individual	Jan. (dollars)	Feb. (dollars)	March (dollars)	April (dollars)	May (dollars)	June (dollars)
X	-	-	-	-	-	102.48
X	-	-	-	-	-	40.71
X	-	-	115.81	4.00	-	-
X	-	-	-	34.82	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	16.40
X	-	-	-	-	-	102.48
X	-	-	-	-	-	40.71
X	-	-	-	86.87	-	-
X	-	-	32.80	-	-	-
X	-	9.60	-	-	-	158.08
X	-	-	-	-	-	113.11
X	8.20	18.80	-	-	-	-
X	133.32	29.52	-	-	-	-
X	25.00	6.00	-	-	-	-
X	-	16.40	-	-	-	-
X	-	16.50	-	-	-	40.71
X	-	18.80	-	39.73	-	-

(Continued)

TABLE 108 (continued)

Individual	Jan. (dollars)	Feb. (dollars)	March (dollars)	April (dollars)	May (dollars)	June (dollars)
X	-	6.80	-	21.00	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	40.71
X	-	12.00	-	-	-	-
X	-	18.80	-	-	-	26.22
X	-	-	39.80	-	-	87.03
X	-	-	-	37.77	-	40.71
X	-	25.00	-	-	-	-
X	-	1.00	-	65.26	-	-
X	-	19.10	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	9.84
X	-	11.20	67.01	4.00	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	102.48
X	-	9.42	-	-	-	-

Arts and Crafts, Arctic Bay

The Arctic Bay carvers are renowned in southern art circles for the quality of their carvings in soapstone and whalebone. Fifty-five adults are engaged in these activities. Arts and crafts production consists primarily of carvings in contrast to the Pond Inlet area where production is predominantly in sealskin. Both men and women carve in soapstone. Some artifacts are produced consisting of leisters, bow and arrows and scale model kayaks. The carvings depict subsistence activities and animals and birds known in the locality.

Local materials consist of whalebone and serpentine. The serpentine is contained in a small deposit immediately north of the settlement. Whalebone is collected by hunters travelling along the west side of Admiralty Inlet. This material has become relatively scarce according to the carvers. Arctic Bay has long been known as a locality where whalebone carvings may be purchased. The main deposits of whalebone are located on the west side of Admiralty Inlet and this material is gleaned on fox-trapping and boat trips.

Imported soapstone from Baker Talc, Quebec, however, is the major source of carving material. Twenty-six thousand pounds were shipped into Arctic Bay on the 1967 sea-lift from Broughton Station. In 1966, six thousand pounds of soapstone were received by sea-lift and distributed free to carvers. This material varies in quality from extreme softness to medium hardness. The Baker Talc soapstone found preference with the majority of carvers because of its relative softness in contrast to local green stone secured behind the settlement. This was provided free to carvers.

TABLE 109 - Monthly Value of Arts and Crafts Production, Arctic Bay,
as Purchased by the Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development

Month	Value (in dollars)	Month	Value (in dollars)
November, 1965	1,057.75	September, 1966	329.00
December	678.75	October	410.25
January, 1966	188.00	November	362.50
February	140.50	December	421.00
March	170.00	January, 1967	1,112.50
April	263.75	February	546.00
May	372.00	March	820.00
August	399.00	April	478.00
		May	801.00

TABLE 110 - Individual Handicrafts Production, Arctic Bay
Carvers, November 1966 to June 1967

Individual Carver	Nov. \$	Dec. \$	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	Totals \$
X	6.00	-	-	22.00	4.00	19.00	-	20.00	21.00
X	66.00	70.00	189.00	57.00	70.00	20.00	-	22.00	509.00
X	-	-	-	-	40.00	24.00	45.00	-	109.50
X	90.00	20.00	85.00	9.00	92.00	72.00	-	-	368.00
X	-	-	15.00	12.00	27.00	-	8.00	-	62.00
X	20.00	-	36.00	75.00	33.00	17.00	27.50	-	208.50
X	-	-	-	-	24.00	-	46.00	-	70.00
X	7.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.00
X	73.00	-	41.00	-	-	12.00	-	-	126.00
X	-	14.00	-	-	-	30.00	40.00	-	84.00
X	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	4.00
X	-	-	3.00	22.00	9.00	-	-	-	34.00
X	40.00	-	69.00	-	109.00	92.00	-	-	310.00
X	-	-	6.00	-	5.00	-	-	-	11.00
X	30.00	-	-	21.00	29.00	-	10.00	-	90.00
X	-	-	-	-	22.00	-	-	-	22.00
X	-	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	4.00
X	-	-	48.00	-	-	10.00	18.00	-	76.00
X	-	11.00	32.00	21.00	36.00	-	9.00	-	109.00
X	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.00
X	30.00	24.00	-	-	28.00	33.00	-	-	105.00
X	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	5.00
X	-	-	13.00	-	6.50	6.00	-	-	25.50
X	-	-	-	-	18.00	-	-	-	18.00
X	-	-	6.00	-	10.00	-	24.00	-	40.00
X	-	11.00	50.00	26.00	5.00	10.00	22.00	12.00	136.00
X	-	-	16.00	30.00	17.00	-	-	-	63.00

(Continued)

TABLE 110 - (continued)

Individual Carver	Nov. \$	Dec. \$	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	Totals \$
X	39.00	28.00	19.00	18.00	43.00	14.00	-	-	161.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	8.00	9.00	-	17.00
X	-	-	11.00	-	-	-	13.00	-	24.00
X	-	-	11.00	-	13.00	-	-	-	24.00
X	-	18.00	-	3.00	18.00	3.50	-	-	42.50
X	-	-	52.00	10.00	13.00	-	7.00	-	82.00
X	-	12.00	-	-	6.00	-	-	-	18.00
X	-	Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	Nil
X	-	-	12.00	5.50	-	23.00	4.00	-	44.50
X	-	-	3.00	-	6.00	4.00	8.00	-	21.00
X	-	-	9.00	-	-	-	-	-	9.00
X	-	-	28.00	-	-	-	-	9.00	37.00
X	-	23.00	8.00	87.00	-	-	-	-	118.00
X	8.00	-	-	-	4.50	-	28.00	-	40.50
X	-	-	5.00	6.00	-	-	6.00	8.00	25.00
X	-	-	20.00	10.00	25.00	-	-	24.00	79.00
X	13.00	4.00	-	8.00	-	3.00	10.00	-	38.00
X	-	-	15.00	-	29.00	-	24.00	17.00	85.00
X	-	13.00	34.00	-	-	-	10.00	-	47.00
X	-	6.00	-	6.00	-	3.50	-	-	18.50
X	52.00	54.00	151.00	70.00	49.00	39.00	81.50	-	419.50
X	-	69.00	97.00	-	-	64.00	57.00	37.00	324.00
X	10.00	-	-	-	9.00	-	-	-	19.00
X	-	17.00	-	-	16.00	-	-	-	33.00
X	-	-	-	-	2.00	16.00	-	-	18.00
X	-	-	-	-	8.50	14.00	-	8.00	78.50
X	-	-	-	-	14.00	-	-	-	14.00

As can be seen from the statistics, the majority of adults are involved in the production of arts and crafts. Nineteen women were participants in the production of arts and crafts and the majority of these prefer to carve rather than sew. The statistics for arts and crafts represent sales to the teacher under the arts and crafts program sponsored by the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Additional sales were made to the Hudson's Bay Company manager, the equipment mechanic, construction crews and a variety of transients. It is estimated that an additional \$1,500 per annum is obtained through local sales. In August 1967, the Departmental arts and crafts program was cut back due to the departure of the teacher. The teacher stopped purchasing arts and crafts due to a lack of funds. This was a serious blow to the Eskimo community, who felt they were able to market arts and crafts at fair prices. Other agencies and individuals in the community demonstrated a tendency to exploit the Eskimos need for income and purchased carvings at below average prices. The quality of the carvings diminished due to a demand for ash trays and book ends from construction crews, aircraft pilots and others who wanted utility as well as art. The Arctic Bay Eskimos require encouragement and assistance in maintaining standards in the production of carvings of high quality. There are obvious benefits to be derived from the

visits of arts and crafts officers, but these accrue primarily in respect to the purchasing program. The development of a co-operative should do much to assist the carvers of Arctic Bay. Major emphasis should be placed on building up carving production both in terms of maintaining quality as well as encouraging carvers to reach maximum production. The production of fine carvings could offset an ultimate decline in hunting and trapping by the middle-aged and older sectors of the population. Authorities on Eskimo art have recognized the unique position of Arctic Bay and its artists.

Social assistance expenditures for Arctic Bay and surrounding district have been the following:

TABLE 111 - Social Assistance Expenditures, 1957 to 1967

Year	Amount (dollars)	Year	Amount (dollars)
1957-1958	3,307.00	1962-1963	3,267.00
1958-1959	4,068.00	1963-1964	1,766.00
1959-1960	4,167.00	1964-1965	4,900.00
1960-1961	5,686.00	1965-1966	5,486.00
1961-1962	4,423.00	1966-1967	7,925.00

Prior to the establishment of a school in 1958-1959, social assistance was administered by the Hudson's Bay Company manager with the assistance of the R.C.M.P. at Pond Inlet and through communication with representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources at Frobisher Bay. Following the establishment of a school in 1958, the responsibility for the administration of social assistance programs was handled by the teacher who worked closely with the Hudson's Bay Company manager. The following tables denote the monthly social assistance payments received by family heads (and a few individuals without families) during 1965, 1966 and 1967. In 1966, the need for assistance increased noticeably during the summer months as a result of the cessation of trapping activities.

TABLE 112 - Arctic Bay, Local Social Assistance Payments, 1965 to 1967

	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.00	-
X	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60.00	40.00	-	70.00
X	25.00	-	-	50.00	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	25.00	50.00
X	110.00	100.00	100.00	104.00	86.26	95.00	95.00	90.00	75.00	105.00	35.00	-
X	40.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	95.00	80.00	70.00	70.00	70.00
X	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	10.00
X	10.00	-	-	-	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00
X	16.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.00	48.00
X	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	30.00	-	70.00	60.00	75.00	75.00	60.00	15.00	-	-	-	-
X	35.00	-	70.00	70.00	42.00	60.00	30.00	60.00	-	-	-	-
X	40.00	-	50.00	60.00	-	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	-	60.00	60.00
X	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	35.00	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	35.00	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	40.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	-
X	-	-	7.00	6.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	35.00	39.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	15.00	-	-	50.00	45.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	10.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.00
X	40.00	40.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	10.00	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.50	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35.00	-	-

(Continued)

TABLE 112 - (continued)
Social Assistance, 1966

	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$
X	16.00	-	-	-	-	-	40.00	30.00	-	50.00	-	-
X	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	10.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	7.00	25.00	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	7.00	10.00	-	30.00	7.50	40.00	-	30.00	35.00	-
X	-	20.00	-	9.00	12.00	20.00	20.00	25.00	-	15.00	65.00	-
X	4.00	28.50	-	-	22.00	-	25.00	25.00	30.00	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	10.00	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	6.50	-	-	-	10.00	-	30.00	-	30.00	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	35.00	20.00	-	-	-	35.00
X	-	5.00	-	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	11.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	-
X	7.00	-	-	2.50	18.00	-	30.00	30.00	30.00	7.50	-	-
X	-	-	-	12.00	-	6.88	-	-	-	-	10.00	-
X	40.00	20.00	85.00	50.00	88.00	50.00	100.00	100.00	75.00	40.00	115.00	55.00
X	-	-	-	30.00	-	40.00	-	20.00	-	20.00	25.00	-
X	-	-	-	28.47	17.00	-	19.50	-	-	-	-	-
X	20.00	20.00	50.00	35.00	50.00	91.00	50.00	-	-	60.00	80.00	60.00
X	-	12.00	-	35.00	21.25	23.00	29.00	35.00	-	-	-	55.00
X	35.00	70.00	70.00	50.00	68.00	107.00	25.00	58.00	-	-	-	55.00
X	-	-	37.00	10.00	15.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	65.00	25.00	30.00	-	60.00	30.00
X	60.00	60.00	-	-	-	-	20.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	55.00	55.00
X	-	-	7.00	-	-	20.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	55.00	55.00	-
X	25.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	75.00	25.00	60.00	60.00	-	-	100.00
X	40.00	80.00	50.00	40.00	80.00	90.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	-
X	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-
X	16.00	-	-	15.00	-	11.50	-	-	-	-	-	35.00
X	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	40.00	80.00	80.00	50.00	100.00	45.00	45.00	120.00	-	60.00	-	70.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	-	-	50.00	10.00	-	9.00
X	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.00	9.00	-	-	-	-
X	6.50	22.50	-	26.00	-	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	1.00	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Continued)

TABLE 112 - (continued)
Social Assistance, 1967 (up to the end of June 1967)

	Jan. \$	Feb. \$	March \$	April \$	May \$	June \$	July \$	Aug. \$	Sept. \$	Oct. \$	Nov. \$	Dec. \$
X	-	-	20.00	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	15.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	15.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	65.00	50.00	55.00	55.00	64.00	55.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	15.00	-	-	-	18.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	18.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	80.00	-	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	-	15.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	60.00	73.00	50.00	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	12.00	28.00	-	-	18.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	110.00	123.00	100.00	54.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	35.00	35.00	-	40.00	18.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	65.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	35.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	60.00	18.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	100.00	110.00	120.00	110.00	115.00	115.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	8.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	30.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	80.00	80.00	70.00	70.00	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	-	-	-	-	9.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	30.00	-	45.00	-	20.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 113 - Monthly Issues of Social Assistance,
Arctic Bay, 1964 to 1967

Month	1964-1965 (dollars)	1965-1966 (dollars)	1966-1967 (dollars)
April	89.87	379.00	674.79
May	89.85	422.86	447.98
June	155.00	365.00	797.68
July	Nil	265.00	887.00
August	Nil	505.00	754.69
September	86.60	321.00	355.00
October	235.00	300.00	865.50
November	250.00	445.00	788.50
December	270.00	440.00	460.50
January	250.00	551.00	687.00
February	370.00	427.00	486.00
March	551.00	496.00	625.55
Totals	2,347.32	4,916.86	7,829.69

A larger scale of social assistance payments exists in Arctic Bay than in the Pond Inlet area. This is due to a number of factors. Social assistance has been handled by teachers acting as area administrators and the change-over of teachers, coupled with the increase in settlement orientation, has affected the administration of social assistance. There are fewer widows in the community than in Pond Inlet. The older hunters appear to be less capable than in the Pond Inlet area partly through disabilities of one sort or another. The Arctic Bay, Admiralty Inlet area has traditionally had a reputation among government agencies for Eskimos having a difficult time making ends meet. Over the years, there has been less stability in camp locations among the Arctic Bay Eskimos than elsewhere.

TABLE 114 - Fuel Oil Issued to Eskimos

Period	Amount	Period	Amount
July, 1966	4 gallons	January, 1967	no record
August, 1966	340 "	February, 1967	310 gallons
September, 1966	265 "	March, 1967	90 "
October, 1966	450 "	April, 1967	no record
November, 1966	520 "	May, 1967	" "
December, 1966	900 "	June, 1967	" "

The above amounts of fuel oil were issued directly from D.I.A.N.D. stocks as social assistance.

Eskimo Bank Accounts, Arctic Bay

The majority of Arctic Bay Eskimos operate on the credit system available at the Hudson's Bay Company. There has been little direct incentive to save and money is spent on necessities and capital equipment. Two prevailing rate

employees have bank accounts in Frobisher Bay and a Hudson's Bay Company clerk has an account with the Company. Eskimos expressed some concern over the difficulty of obtaining cash in the settlement. This depends primarily on the willingness of the Hudson's Bay Company manager to make cash available. An extreme point in case occurred in 1967, when the best hunter and trapper wished to obtain some cash to purchase materials at the Pond Inlet Hudson's Bay Company which were not available at the Hudson's Bay Company at Arctic Bay and was unable to do so in spite of ample credit.

TABLE 115 - 1967 Sea-lift, Hudson's Bay Company, Arctic Bay

Item	Total (in lbs.)
8 cartons assorted sugar	11,645
20 " pure lard	700
60 " pure lard	2,340
5 " margarine	135
122 " tea	1,750
13 " soft drinks	572
30 " soft drinks	570
30 " pepsi	570
53 " foodstuffs	1,431
80 " canned goods	2,240
23 " soups	216
36 " canned goods	1,276
45 " canned goods	918
8 " foodstuffs	291
382 " groceries	10,263
6 " canned bacon	225
7 " canned meats	161
5 " canned meats	110
29 " assorted canned meats	1,130
20 " corned beef	480
400 bags flour	37,750
31 cartons flour	1,251
4 " confectionary	292
12 " confectionary	469
3 " confectionary	140
8 " biscuit	320
6 " gum	255
17 " cigarettes	610
16 " cigarettes	587
6 crates ski-doo's	2,052
10 cartons animal traps	120
7 " outboard motors	660
14 " small arms ammunition	486
3 canoes	800

As can be seen from the items listed above, there is a substantial degree of dependence on imported foods with an emphasis on staple items - sugar, flour, lard, and tea. Rations for three adult non-Eskimos are included in this listing.

Non-Local Commodities

The estimated annual consumption rates of non-local commodities have been discussed in comparison to Pond Inlet. While staple items remain high on the priority items, the infusion of cash money made available by casual employment with construction crews had resulted in increased purchases of other items. Two Eskimo families in prevailing rate employment take government rations.

Major emphasis is still shown in the acquisition of capital equipment used in the hunting and trapping economy. Credits are established over a twelve month period to acquire ski-doo's, canoes, and motors.

There are minor price variations. A few items are slightly more expensive in a price comparison with similar items at Pond Inlet.

Education Arctic Bay

The results of an education program started in 1958, and have not been encouraging. There are a number of factors involved. During the period 1958-1965, the majority of the population was still living in outlying camps, the camp teaching program was ineffective and teachers were burdened with multiple administrative functions.

TABLE 116 - Education Statistics, 1964

No. of Teachers	Male Students	Female Students	Grade							
1	10	13	Au. 8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
				5	4	3	4			
Education Statistics, 1965-1966										
1	14	23		27	3	3	4	1		
Education Statistics, 1966-1967										
1	-	-		38	4	3				

Vocational Training

Two Arctic Bay Eskimos have received vocational training. One man attended a three months training course in marine engine room training in Halifax and another man has taken a diesel engine training course at Kingston, Ontario. Arctic Bay suffers from remoteness in terms of administrative and vocational training programs.

Eskimo Housing

An initial housing program consisted of four one-room houses (12 feet by 20 feet) being completed in the settlement in 1963. Eight one-bedroom houses

valued at \$3,168 - \$4,224 were erected in the camps in 1956, four in Koogalalek and four in Avartok. Eleven three-bedroom units with an individual capital value of \$7,744 were erected in the settlement in 1966. An additional seven three-bedroom units (\$4,951) were completed in the settlement in 1967. The Koogalalek Eskimos have manifested an interest in remaining out of the settlement facilities. The Avartok people spend more time in commuting between camp and settlement. The two camp bosses reside in the settlement during the winter.

TABLE 117 - Rental Housing Program, Arctic Bay,
April 1967 to February, 1968

Month	No. of Units	Amount Paid (dollars)	Arrears (dollars)	No. of Units for which no rent was paid during period
January, 1967	14	184.00	74.00	2
February	15	339.00	67.00	2
March	15	243.00	125.00	3
April	16	216.00	244.00	3
May	16	240.00	327.00	3
June	14	301.00	350.00	3
July	16	238.00	454.00	6
August	17	591.00	227.00	5
September	17	224.00	363.00	7
October	18	423.00	302.00	4
November	19	612.00	205.00	6
December	22	418.00	192.00	6
January, 1968	28	530.00	200.00	6
February	29	548.00	139.00	6

TABLE 118 - Rental Assessments, February, 1968,
Based on Income

1 unit	\$ 2.00/month
5 units	5.00/month
4 units	11.00/month
12 units	22.00/month
2 units	33.00/month
1 unit	67.00/month

Community Organizations

In 1967, an Eskimo Community Council was elected to promote community development. Six Eskimo men are members of the council and are assisted by the school teacher. The president is a returnee (in 1967) from the Fort Ross area. Three of the men are from Avartok, but spend considerable amounts of time in Arctic Bay, particularly in the winter. One is an older man of considerable ability as a hunter-trapper, while another is nominal camp boss at Avartok and

foreman in seasonal Eskimo employment at the Texas Gulf and Sulphur property in Strathcona Sound. A fifth member is a long-time resident of Arctic Bay employed by the Department. The sixth member is perhaps the most outstanding hunter-trapper in the Admiralty Inlet area and at one period aspired to be a powerful camp boss. Another organization in the community consists of a housing committee to deal with the Eskimo rental housing program. This consists of two Eskimos and the teacher. Church functions are organized and carried out by two lay Eskimo assistants. These men are advised by the Anglican missionary at Pond Inlet.

Buildings For Community Use

Due to the construction program, buildings have become available for use by the community as a whole. The old powerhouse will be used for dances, movies and other group activities. The old school will be used for adult education and pending the organization of a co-operative, a crafts center office. The growth of community development in Arctic Bay has been slow due to the dispersed nature of the population in camps, the time consuming activities undertaken by the community teacher and a lack of identification of worthwhile community activities. While community clean-ups the destruction of shacks and the cutting of ice provide minor amounts of income, they fail to arouse community interest.

The following delimits community development activities during the 1966-1967 year:

TABLE 119 - Community Development Projects, 1966-1967

Date	Work	No. of Men Employed	Income (dollars)
March 1, 1967	Gathering snow	3	76.59
March 2, 1967	Cutting ice for fresh water	1	21.00
March 6, 1967	Destruction of old shacks replaced by rental housing	4	271.92
June 10, 1967	Community clean-up	7	147.60

The work of community development in a small Arctic community, still much involved in subsistence activities of hunting and trapping requires a person with resource harvesting and mechanical skills. Due to the influx of Eskimos from the camps in 1966 and 1967, active community development could offset an imminent lag in resource harvesting and a slow down in construction with a completion of the housing program.

Recreation

Recreation consists of dances held in the school house on Friday nights. They are alternated with National Film Board movies ordered by the community teacher.

Church

Two church services are held on Sunday as well as Sunday school service. There is a mid-week service on Wednesday night. A cathecist from Pond Inlet was church leader in 1965-1966 until his death in 1966. Since that time services have been conducted by lay readers in the community. The Arctic Bay church is under the direction of the missionary at Pond Inlet.

Planned Construction for Arctic Bay

Seven low-cost rental houses were completed in 1967, in addition to a two-room school, powerhouse, powerline, twelve bed hostel. Construction planned for Arctic Bay in 1968-1969, includes the construction of an office and transient quarters, the installation of a community freezer and two bulk storage fuel oil tanks (140,000 gallons). In effect, the construction program will closely duplicate facilities existing in other Arctic settlements.

Annual Celebrations

A community dinner is held twice a year at Christmas and Easter. Sports days are held three times a year at Christmas, Easter and in May. The Community Council has planned to order films for weekly showing in the community on a profit basis. During the summer of 1967 the community teacher ordered ten films for this purpose.

Co-operative Development

The Arctic Bay Eskimos through contact with the Iglulik Eskimos and the Resolute Eskimos have become aware of the apparent advantages of a co-operative. Essentially, they would like to have a producer and retail co-operative in the community. On the basis of arts and crafts production, there is ample potential for the development of a producers co-operative. Arts and crafts production could be expanded both in volume and types. For the older age group, arts and crafts production appears to be the most feasible method of augmenting individual incomes. A large percentage of this group on the basis of medical histories are no longer able to cope with the rigours of trapping and seal hunting under difficult conditions or living in camps.

The Arctic Bay Eskimos are anxious to obtain a larger boat than the existing canoes and whaleboats for resource harvesting purposes. Financing of this project has been impossible to date due to low incomes and prior commitments of funds for food and clothing. The abandonment of camps has resulted in inadequate harvesting of country food by some individual Eskimo families in the settlement, with the result that many are subsisting on store purchased foods augmented by country food obtained from relatives or friends. The Community Council shows considerable ability and includes the best hunters of the Eskimo community. With minor assistance, they would be capable of conducting their own resource harvesting projects. Terrain conditions appear to be suitable for the construction of permafrost cellars which could be used for storage of country food. There is some potential for export of seal meat, fish and muktuk to Resolute. Air transportation costs are reasonable in terms of location and are more advantageous than from Pond Inlet.

With the posting of a Co-operative Development Officer to Resolute by September, 1969, it is anticipated an accelerated program of Co-operative educational work will be carried out to follow up a program instituted in 1968 by the Regional Co-op Development Officer at Arctic Bay. In the meantime, a representative from Arctic Bay is expected to attend the next Co-operative and Handicraft Management Course scheduled to commence in April, 1969 at the Western Co-operative College.

The random sampling of incomes for thirty-four family units in Arctic Bay for the period July 1966 to June 1967, indicates the relative position of various sources of income in the overall economy. The income earned from casual labour and construction was the major source of income for the group.

TABLE 120 - Random Sampling of Family Incomes,
Arctic Bay Eskimos, 1966-1967

Age	Dep.	Fur & Sealskins (dollars)	Wages (dollars)	Arts & Crafts (dollars)	F.A. (dollars)	S.A. (dollars)
49	10	801.50	1,000.00	100.00	648.00	46.00
29	5	717.50	2,183.65	91.00	216.00	400.00
29	4	-	950.00	175.00	72.00	419.00
55	7	Disabled	Disabled	Disabled	288.00	1,370.00
34	4	-	85.48	550.00	240.00	179.00
30	3	119.67	1,408.62	-	168.00	-
49	5	951.00	62.22	144.00	60.00	-
25	3	819.25	383.91	27.00	96.00	-
50	6	50.00	2,556.00	-	312.00	95.00
63	6	-	1,335.91	86.00	72.00	250.00
27	3	512.80	101.41	122.00	-	-
37	6	110.00	126.83	-	216.00	-
40	6	719.00	301.00	161.00	312.00	95.00
21	2	349.50	-	211.00	72.00	60.00
64	3	18.00	-	160.00	96.00	60.00
29	1	495.00	-	5.00	-	-
40	7	357.70	-	140.00	312.00	112.50
24	3	751.00	102.48	64.00	72.00	-
59	3	252.00	194.60	324.00	72.00	834.00
29	2	226.00	675.00	442.50	72.00	60.00
41	7	-	1,302.00	76.00	240.00	387.00
28	4	-	793.60	-	216.00	-
36	4	471.80	83.33	94.00	168.00	21.00
32	2	910.00	168.95	-	72.00	193.00
44	5	2,991.00	120.00	-	216.00	120.00
54	7	-	244.25	37.00	168.00	222.50
30	5	507.00	796.92	-	240.00	-
26	3	534.00	875.00	-	-	-
48	4	337.50	-	100.00	96.00	85.00
25	4	639.00	-	-	144.00	-
39	4	-	40.71	-	72.00	20.00
37	3	666.00	-	170.00	72.00	18.00

(Continued)

TABLE 120 - (continued)

Age	Dep.	Fur & Sealskins (dollars)	Wages (dollars)	Arts & Crafts (dollars)	F.A. (dollars)	S.A. (dollars)
24	2	784.62	-	-	72.00	-
17	0	-	600.00	-	-	-
20	0	-	1,528.07	63.00	-	-
Totals		15,090.84	18,019.94	3,342.50	5,172.00	5,047.00

TABLE 121 - Approximate Sources of Income in Arctic Bay
for a 12 Month Period

Eskimo loan fund	\$ 300.00
Welfare assistance	5,500.00
Community development fund	1,000.00
Carvings and handicrafts	6,000.00
School	20,000.00 (including teachers' salaries)
Family allowances	7,650.00
Old age pension (1 person and disability pension)	5,000.00
Municipal services	
Hudson's Bay Company	15,000.00 (including salary of H.B.C. Manager)
D.I.A.N.D. mechanic and helper	12,000.00 (including salary of non-Eskimo mechanic)
Trapping and furs	18,982.02
Narwhal tusks	5,000.00
Earnings of Eskimos in construction employment	30,000.00
Texas Gulf Sulphur Mine at Strathcona Sound	5,000.00

These figures are based on calculations by Mr. Morrisset.

Future

Despite recent advances in transportation, settlements like Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay are acutely remote in terms of the mainstream of economic activity. There is an ultimate danger of these settlements becoming "backwater" areas once settlement expansion has been accomplished. Small-scale projects and community development activities are essentially only stop-gap measures and a partial solution for increasing income needs. The development of mines as yet offers little promise in alleviating government investment in the eastern Arctic, and Frobisher Bay is an unpromising example of regional development that is not based on resource development, but rather on the activities of various government agencies with frequently conflicting interests. One is forced to look on both Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet as "holding" communities, lacking in real economic potential. Hopefully, a large part of the younger segments of the population will be encouraged to look elsewhere for employment and residence. This could be **encouraged** only through the continuing development of educational facilities in and away from the home settlements. The older segments of the population will require considerable support in continuing in subsistence activities. The main alternative to "holding" communities with limited potentials for economic development appears to be phasing out of small settlements. As yet, no serious attempts have been made in planning in this direction and continuing government investment will result in greater entrenchment of the population. For the present, Resolute offers limited potentials for absorbing population due to limited work opportunities. The two main direction for increased mobility are within the Arctic and perhaps the sub-Arctic fringe and into southern Canada.

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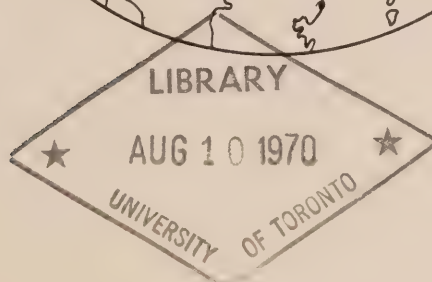
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NORTHERN BAFFIN ISLAND

an area economic survey



DON BISSETT

INDUSTRIAL DIVISION NORTHERN ADMINISTRATION BRANCH
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

NORTHERN BAFFIN ISLAND

an area economic survey

Volume 2 of the Northern Baffin Island Report

1967

A.E.R.S. 67 1

by

DON BISSETT

The views, conclusions and recommendations expressed herein are those of the contributors and not necessarily those of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Industrial Division,
Department of Indian
Affairs and Northern
Development.

Ottawa, Nov., 1968

PREFACE

This report is one of a series of Area Economic Surveys carried out by the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

These surveys are a continuing part of the Department's efforts to determine the basis for local economic and social progress in the Northwest Territories. Basically the surveys are intended to:

- 1) Assess the renewable resources as to their ability to sustain the local population.
- 2) Determine the degree of exploitation of these resources and the efficiency of their use.
- 3) Investigate and explain the social and economic factors affecting resource utilization.
- 4) Recommend ways and means whereby the standard of living of the local people might be improved.

As the reasons for these surveys are practical, the material presented in the reports is selected for its relevance in this respect; much academic material gathered in the course of the investigation which may have been taken into account in the deliberations is necessarily excluded from these reports. On the other hand, authors have been given wide latitude in their approach and have been encouraged to give consideration to key problems of a theoretical nature and to include such theoretical argument where its inclusion is thought to contribute to the understanding of the material presented and of the practical conclusions drawn.

The reports are published primarily for use within the Department, for distribution to other interested government agencies and for limited distribution to libraries, universities and organizations and individuals actively engaged in northern research, administration or development.

The following reports in this series have been published to date or are in preparation:

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60/1	The Squatters of Whitehorse	J.Lotz
62/1	Southampton Island	D.Brack
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62/3	Western Ungava	R.Currie
63/1	The Copper Eskimos	G.Abrahamson
63/2	Keewatin Mainland	D.Brack and D.McIntosh
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66/3	Frobisher Bay	S.MacBain (Miss)
66/4	East Coast-Baffin Island	G.Anders, Ed.
67/1	Lancaster Sound	D.Bissett
67/2	South Coast - Baffin Island	G.Higgins
67/3	South Shore-Great Slave Lake	D.Radojicic
67/4	Central Mackenzie	D.Villiers (Miss)
68/1	Keewatin Re-Survey	D.Radojicic
68/2	Central Arctic	D.Villiers (Miss)
68/3	Lower Liard Region	G.Higgins

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This sector of the report could not have been completed without the assistance of the Eskimo hunter-trappers of northern Baffin Island. Individual hunter-trappers were interviewed both formally and informally. The author travelled by dogteam, ski-doo and boat to the Eskimo camps and hunting areas to establish a rapport with Eskimos throughout the area.

This report is dedicated to the Eskimos of northern Baffin Island with the hope that the processes of continuing change taking place in the Canadian Arctic will not adversely affect the man-environment relationship or upset delicate ecological balances.

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List of Abbreviations

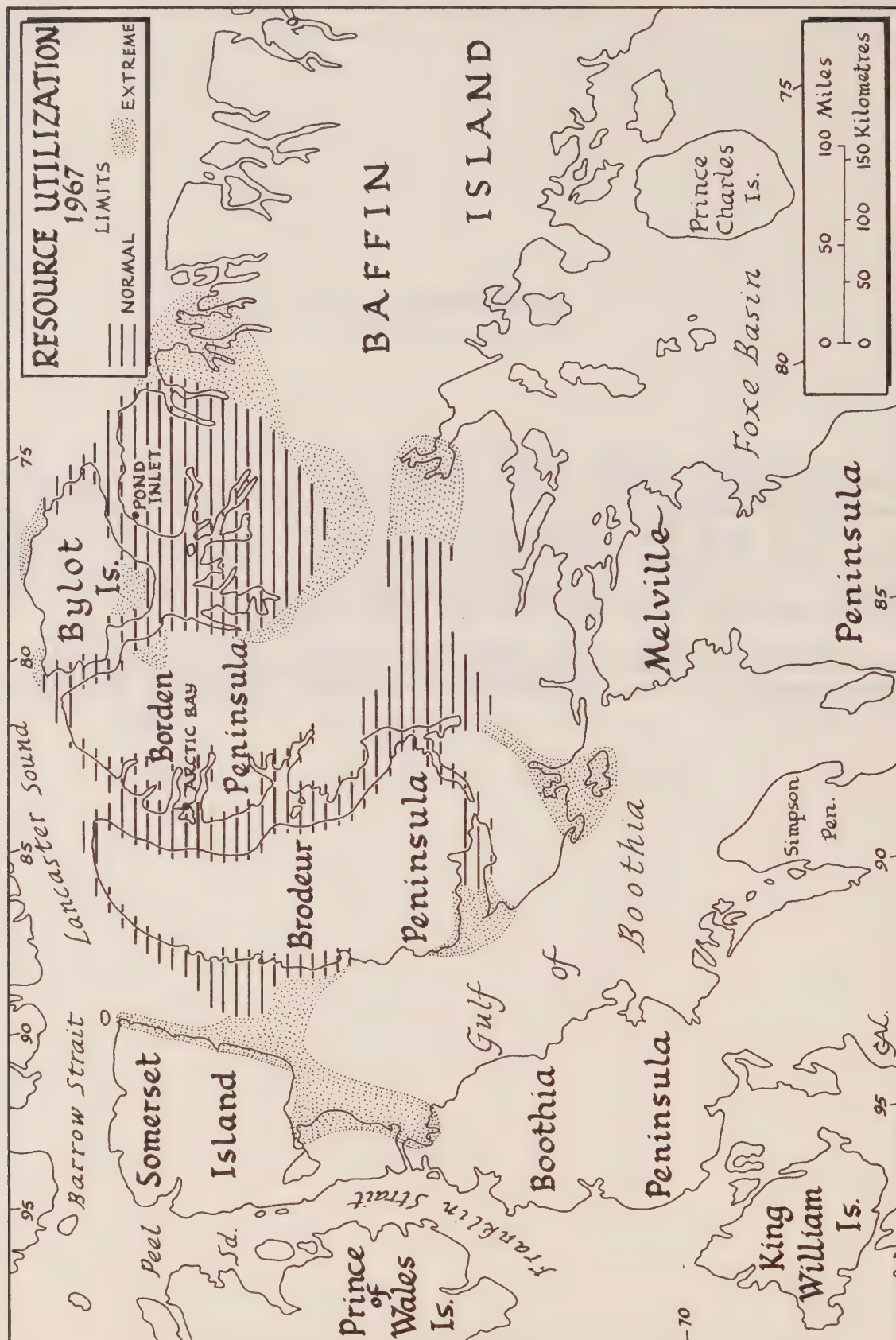
- D.I.A.N.D. - Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
- H.B.C. - Hudson's Bay Company
- D.O.T. - Department of Transport
- I.N.H.S., N.H.S. - Indian Northern Health Service, Department of Health and Welfare
- G.S.C. - Geological Survey of Canada
- R.C.M.P. - Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Introduction

Section B of the northern Baffin Island report deals specifically with the subsistence economy of the Eskimos of the Pond Inlet and Admiralty Inlet areas. It is hoped this section will serve to more closely define subsistence activities for the reader and will provide an insight into resource harvesting techniques. Material for this report was gathered on hunting trips as well as through prolonged interviews with the hunter-trappers.

A chapter is included on the non-renewable resource sector which may ultimately become the economic mainstay of resident populations on northern Baffin Island.

FIGURE 1 - Normal and Extremes of Resource Utilization, Northern Baffin Island



Chapter I - The Subsistence Economy

Game Statistics in the Pond Inlet Area

During the past ten years, game statistics for the Pond Inlet area indicate some degree of stability in resource harvesting from year to year with the exception of some species, (i.e. walrus and beluga or white whale, both of which are available in fringe areas). The resource zone has remained the same during the ten year period as based on interviews with Eskimos. There has been some fluctuation in camps and in more recent years 1962-1967, there has been a tendency for centralization of the population in the northeastern sector of the resource base or more specifically in the Pond Inlet settlement.

The most important resource in terms of availability both on a seasonal basis and numerically is the ringed seal. This animal is available at all times of the year and the elaborate techniques which have evolved in the Pond Inlet area, for hunting this species are indicative of its relative importance to the total economy both in terms of food and revenue.

There is some evidence to indicate that fishing has declined in recent years not because of a decrease in demand but a tendency on the part of the population to abandon outlying fishing zones, (i.e. the Robertson River area, the bottom of Tay Sound).

The R.C.M.P. have encouraged the Eskimos to avoid wastage of game particularly in the case of caribou and walrus. Caribou are of much greater importance in the overall economy than walrus. Walrus are so infrequently encountered in the main resource area that over hunting is unlikely to occur at any time.

The population of adult hunters and trappers has remained somewhat stable. Slight increases have occurred due to young males becoming participants in resource harvesting activities. The attraction of settlement living does not yet appear to have become a major deterrent to resource harvesting activities by younger hunters simply because there is insufficient work in the community.

The statistics for small game from 1960-1967, may be regarded as less reliable than for large game simply because many Eskimos do not bother to tally small game.

TABLE 1 - Game Take, Pond Inlet, 1956-1960

Season	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960
Caribou	125	75	124	138
Polar bear	10	13	32	25
Walrus	9	5	56	18
Narwhal	93	175	210	52
Silver jars (traded)	651	605	611	848
Common seals (traded)	387	317	387	681
White whale	2	-	-	26
Bearded seal	40	n.r.	43	n.r.

n.r. - no report available

(Continued)

TABLE 1 - (continued)

Season	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960
White fox	n.r.	906	731	614
Blue fox	n.r.	15	11	7

*Game returns filed by R.C.M.P., Pond Inlet
n.r. - not reported

During this period the number of ringed seals (silver jar and common) which were traded represented a much lower percentage of the total take than during the later period of better sealskin prices.

TABLE 2 - Game Take, Pond Inlet Area, 1960-1967*

	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964	1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967
Caribou	90	100	150	100	70	90	98
Polar Bear	5	12	17	9	2	16	20
Walrus	13	10	8	-	5	4	7
Narwhal	145	65	115	60	60	52	40
Seals	3,500	5,000	8,000	3,000	4,500	2,822 (4,000)	3,800 T. Seals
White coats	-	14	10	-	-	-	-
Bearded seals	35	3	26	n.r.	30	38	40
White fox	1,365	633	24	283	649	52	27
Blue fox	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Ptarmigan	805	400	600	400	50	450	200
Geese	147	45	170	160	150	181	150
Ducks	140	n.r.	102	100	100	140	150
Fish	n.r.	n.r.	2,500	2,000	5,000	5,000	5,000 lbs.
Wolves	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.	7	2	n.r.	5
Hare	405	250	n.r.	200	300	94	100

*Based on R.C.M.P. game reports for the Pond Inlet area.
White coat - baby seal
n.r. - not reported

Game Take, Arctic Bay

While fur takes are available in respect to Arctic Bay, no overall game takes as reported by the R.C.M.P. are available since 1960. However, individual interviews indicate that game takes have remained at levels comparable with the period which has been outlined.

TABLE 3 - Game Reports, Arctic Bay²

	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960
Caribou	54	25	50	12
Polar bear	-	24	42	40
Walrus	4	3	-	-
Common seals	154	402	90	100
Silver jars	703	not separated	348	335
White fox	n.r.	1,481	871	262
Blue fox	n.r.	6	2	-
Narwhal	n.r.	n.r.	50	n.r.
Bearded seal	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.

²Based on R.C.M.P. game report.
n.r. - no report available

Game Takes by Individual Hunters, Pond Inlet Area

A sampling of the game takes by twenty-seven individual hunters and trappers is included in the report. Small game is not included as small game provides a minute percentage of the total amount of food; and the majority of hunters are hard put to give accurate figures in respect to small game.

TABLE 4 - Sample of Game Take by Settlement Based Hunters and Trappers, 1966-1967

Hunters by age	Full-time hunter-trapper	Full-time employed	Caribou	Ringed seal	Narwhal	Bearded seal	Walrus	Harp seal	Fox
27	x	-	4	30	1	1	-	2	4
26	x	-	5	104	-	1	-	-	1
49	x	-	15	179	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	10	56	-	-	-	-	10
26	x	-	-	90	1	-	1	-	5
36	-	x	26	108	5	4	-	-	6
34	-	x	7	25	5	1	-	-	3
27	-	x	6	16	7	2	1	-	3
29	x	-	4	70	-	1	-	-	4
30	-	-	13	59	-	-	1	-	-
23	-	x	9	69	-	-	-	-	14
24	-	x	3	65	1	1	-	-	6
38	x	-	1	82	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	x	-	60	1	-	-	-	-
37	x	-	3	100	-	-	-	-	-
40	x	-	4	30	-	1	-	-	-
29	x	-	3	110	-	1	-	-	-
43	x	-	7	66	1	1	-	-	7
23	x	-	7	22	5	2	-	-	3
24	x	-	2	45	-	0	-	-	3
33	-	x	-	4	-	9	-	-	-
37	-	x	9	187	-	9	-	4	14
27	x	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	2	6	3	-	1	-	-
24	x	-	1	26	1	1	1	-	1
29	x	-	8	50	2	-	-	-	7
58	x	-	20	35	10	1	-	-	-
35	x	-	7	many	2	-	-	-	3

As can be seen from the statistics, ringed seals are the major resource for the majority of hunters.

Variance in game take is dependent on a number of factors, some of which are beyond the control of the hunter-trapper. As might be anticipated, there is little pressure on younger unmarried hunters and trappers to produce. Some of the older men are capable hunters, but appear to take less game than they are capable of taking.

In general, lack of hunting equipment is not a serious inhibiting factor in the Pond Inlet area, since the hunter can usually borrow equipment from within family groups or friends.

TABLE 5 - Examples of Fur and Game Takes by Individual Hunters, Arctic Bay Area, 1966 to 1967

Individual Hunter	Age	Dep.	Polar bear	Fox	Ringed seal	Caribou	Bearded seal	Narwhal	Walrus
			1966 - 1967	1966 - 1967	1966 - 1967	1966 - 1967	1966 - 1967	1966 - 1967	
x	25	2	1	28	105	-	-	-	-
x	26	2	1	13	200	3	1	-	-
x	33	5	1	21	65	9	-	2	-
x	25	4	-	25	75	19	-	-	-
x	37	2	1	12	73T	9	1	-	-
x	40	7	-	14	65	9	-	6	-
x	49	5	2	11	37T	-	-	-	1

T - signified skins traded

As can be seen from the limited sampling given above, the Arctic Bay Eskimos harvest considerable amounts of fur and game. The statistics for polar bear, fox, caribou, narwhal and bearded seal are reliable. Those for ringed seal are less reliable since the Arctic Bay Eskimos do not keep accurate tallies of this species. Many of the Arctic Bay Eskimos simply stated they had taken "lots". More accurate estimates may be obtained from the fur and sealskin statistics; but these take into consideration only sealskins turned in to the trading store.

Capacity of the Existing Resource Base for Supporting an Increasing Population

While it is difficult to more than conjecture on the capacity of the existing resource base to support an increasing population, there are certain controls which have been noted elsewhere in the Arctic. Within the community, attempts will be made by government agencies to increase employment. Some emigration will occur but this will be on a minor scale in the form of absorption of educated Eskimos into employment elsewhere. Increasing amounts of non-country food will be eaten, while utilization of some local food species will decline. The problem of maintaining and increasing use of local food sources will be an endemic problem in northern communities.

On a seasonal basis, utilization in winter is more complete in terms of game taken since food requirements are greater with sled dogs being fed regularly and food being more difficult to obtain than in the spring and summer.¹ In the spring, some seals may be discarded on the ice after being skinned and narwhal meat left at the floe-edge.

¹Excess meat taken in the spring and summer is cached for use in winter, but there are exceptions to this.

TABLE 6 - Major Species of Economic Importance

Major Species of Economic Importance	Ringed seal	Bearded seal	Harp seal	Walrus	Narwhal	Arctic fox	Caribou	Polar bear
Availability	All year	Seasonal summer, autumn	Seasonal summer	Seasonal	Seasonal	Winter	Seasonal	Seasonal
Live weight range (lbs.)	118	500 - 600	300	M - 2,000	1,685 av. limited sample	7 - 15	150-375	800
Age, sexual maturity	7 yr. M 5 - 7 yr. F	7 yr. M 6 yr. F	8 yr. M 6 yr. F	6 yr. M 5 yr. F	not known	5 - 6 mo.	1½ yr. M 1½, 2½, 3½ yr. F	4 yr. M 3 yr. F
Mating period	Feb.-Mar.	May	mid-May	Jan. - early March	July	Feb.-Mar.	Oct.	April
Birth period	mid-March mid-April	April - May	late Feb. early March	April early May	-	June	late May, June	Jan. - Feb.
Food	themisto libellula, planktonic amphipods, polar cod.	molluscs, echinoderms tube worms large prawns	euphasid amphipods, polar cod, capelin, herring and haddock	clams, whelks sea cucumbers, shrimps, sea worms	squid, polar cod	lemmings, birds, eggs	lichens, mosses, sedges	seals, occasionally young walrus
Predators (other than man)	killer whale polar bear	killer whale, polar bear	polar bear, killer whale	occasionally polar bear, killer whale	killer whale	wolves, Arctic owls	wolves	-
Gregarious	found in clusters in spring on ice		x	x	x		x	
non-gregarious		x				x		x

In considering the total game take, we therefore must project the approximate amount of food available for consumption. In general, it is safe to assume that while some game wastage occurs, it is much smaller than in areas where a large percentage of Eskimos are in wage employment and are hunting seals for sport and income rather than food needs.

The weight of various species fluctuates on a seasonal basis. Examples of seasonal variations in weight composition are available for ringed seal and caribou and these have been included in discussions of these species.

TABLE 7 - Total Game Take, Pond Inlet Area and Estimated Amount of Food Available for Consumption, 1966-1967*

Species	Number Taken	Average Weight	Meat and Fat available for Human Consumption (lbs.)	Blubber of Fat and less edible parts suitable for dog food (lbs.)
Caribou	98	110	c. 4,900	c. 2,303
Ringed seal	3,800	118	c. 140,600	c. 163,400
Bearded seal	40	600	c. 10,800	c. 8,640
Narwhal	40	1,685	14,120 (10% & 5% meat)	92,675 (35% & 25% meat)
Polar bear	20	800	c. 4,000	c. 8,000
Walrus	7	1,500	c. 2,240	c. 2,415
Fish	-	-	c. 5,000	-
Birds, hare, eggs	-	-	c. 2,000	-

*Based on observations of utilization patterns and percentage composition of game animals. At a per capita rate this would be 535 .4 of meat available per person for consumption by a population of 343.

Handling and Use of Local Foods

Meat of all foods species is commonly eaten boiled, raw or in a raw frozen form. In former times, care was taken to conserve blood for use as food, but this no longer holds true. Utilization includes various organs, brain, heart, liver and kidneys and intestines, although some preference or dislikes are shown with regard to various species. The intestines of ringed seal and bearded seal are eaten. Those of other animals are commonly discarded or fed to dogs. Whale meat is little utilized as human food except as eguna while the muktuk is eaten both in a fresh and boiled state.¹ Walrus is eaten in a frozen or boiled state. Walrus fat is eaten with frozen lean caribou meat. Char is eaten fresh, dried or ripe. Polar cod are boiled before eating.

Greater snow geese and murre are the main bird species used for food. These are followed by eiders (due to lesser abundance) and sea pigeons. Young sea gulls and old squaw ducks are an occasional food variation used when other food is not available. Eggs (chiefly geese and murre) are seasonally important and are eaten after being boiled and tested for freshness if necessary.

Plant food constitutes a very minor food resource. Sorrel leaves, willow leaves with seal oil roots, and occasionally berries (chiefly crowberries and

¹Eguna is the Eskimo name for rotten meat

blueberries) and seaweed of the fucus type dipped in seal oil are eaten. Of these, sorrel and berries are presently the most important.

While it appears that dogteams are uneconomical in terms of the large amount of food they consume and the time expenditure entailed in hunting food for them, they consume meat taken in the course of hunting which is surplus to the needs of the Eskimo hunter as well as the less edible parts. Increased mechanization (use of ski-doos) and provision of heating oil will result in a large scale wastage of sea mammals, although this will be partly overcome simply through reduced hunting by settlement based Eskimo groups.

Price of Local Foods

There are no organized procedures in Pond Inlet for the sale of country food. In 1966-1967, 735 pounds of seal meat were sold by producers to the hostels for 35 cents a pound. Two hundred and fifty-four pounds of fish were sold for 55 cents a pound or a total of \$139.70. Small shipments of char were made in 1967 to the Resolute Co-operative and to the Tower Company where fish were sold F.O.B. at 65 cents a pound. In the winter of 1967-1968, Eskimos were reported to be selling whole seals at \$6.00 a seal to other Eskimos in the settlement during the winter of 1967-1968.

Need for Increased Employment Opportunities

The large number of males and females in the 15-20 year age groups present problems in terms of wage employment. This group has some difficulty in securing employment due to the fact that preference is given to married persons. This group is incapable of becoming mobile in terms of labour mobility without assistance not presently available in the community. At the present time, there is little foreseeable opportunity for expansion of employment in the settlement. Co-operative development has benefited the over twenty age group who have a continuing interest in handicraft production.

Equipment

A brief discussion of the hunting and trapping equipment is included in the report. The whaleboat and trap boat era has passed in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area. In general, the equipment is similar to equipment owned by Eskimos in other areas of the eastern Arctic. The equipment owned by camp based Eskimos has been discussed in the section on Eskimo camps and will not be repeated here.¹ With the exception of ski-doos no major differences were noted between the equipment of settlement-based Eskimos and camp Eskimos.

The R.C.M.P. reported in 1957 there were four trap boats with engines and two whaleboats powered by sail. In 1958, there were a total of 12 outboard motors most of them being 3½ H.P. and new. Since 1961 there has been a decline in larger boats to a stage where they can no longer be safely used. This has, in large measure, been offset by boats purchased through the Eskimo Loan Fund. The number of smaller boats and canoes has shown a tendency to increase, these items being easier to replace by individuals with limited incomes.

With increased wage employment, a few of the Pond Inlet Eskimos have purchased larger horsepower motors. These are settlement-based Eskimos, with larger earning power and a greater ability to purchase outboard gas. The camp Eskimos

¹ See Volume 1 - Northern Baffin Island

through necessity have continued to use the 5 or $5\frac{1}{2}$ H.P. and 10 H.P. motors.

Ringed seal meat is the staple food, while other food forms are seasonally important. Caribou are seasonally available as are various sea mammals, fish and birds. Some wastage occurs under normal usage patterns. There are instances where caches are forgotten or lost. Also, game is wounded and lost.

Utilization of Hides and Skins

The normal varieties of sealskin boots (ringed haired or hairless sealskin tops with bearded sealskin udjuk bottoms) are utilized for footwear with different types being used according to the season. In winter, deerskin boots with dog hair or polar bearskin soles are worn for travel in low temperature on snow or ice. Bearded sealskin is preferred for doglines but narwhal skin can be used as a substitute. Both the sinew of caribou and narwhal are used for sewing sealskin boots, mitts and handicrafts. Sealskin parkas and trousers are no longer used in the area and have virtually disappeared in the Igloodik area. The feathered back skins of murre were formerly used for socks. In general, as elsewhere in the eastern Arctic, old styles of clothing superior to cloth and duffle have fallen from use.

Sharing Patterns

Sharing patterns differ with respect to local foods as against store purchased food. Caribou meat is shared as a delicacy and is eaten in communal feasts. Relatives and friends are summoned to feasts of caribou meat. In the camps, game meats are regularly shared among families during periods of relative scarcity. The residents of Pond Inlet make trips to Ipiarjuk during the winter to obtain seal meat during periods of scarcity. There is less sharing of store purchased food except within extended family groups. Eskimos, who obtain rations, share their rations within the extended family group. During the spring hunts at the floe-edge, hunters help themselves to whale meat piled on the floe-edge. Seasonally available foods like muktuk are readily shared. Anyone refusing to share tobacco or cigarettes, tea and sugar on the trail is considered to be an unsatisfactory trailing companion. Widows are assisted by active hunters and receive meat, and occasionally sealskins.

Value of Country Food

Various authors have attempted to set some value on country food in terms of income. The simplest method used has been simply to equate country food (for example seal meat) with meat available in the settlement store or trading post. This does not take into consideration the differences in food value between fresh and canned meats which are most commonly available in settlement stores. In some parts of the Arctic, exchange values have developed among Eskimos in regard to country food. In the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas exchange values have been slow to evolve. This is due to the small number of wage earners and a relative abundance of country food. In this report, attempts are made to delimit the amount of country food available; but the dollar value of country food is left to the reader who may wish to apply arbitrary values of one kind or another.

The number of dogteams is declining due to Eskimos being involved in wage employment. The size of dogteams has remained the same. In instances where

there are a larger than normal number of dogs being maintained, this usually signifies two dogteams and more than one hunter in the family unit.

Equipment, Pond Inlet Area, 1961

In 1961, there were fifty active hunters in the Pond Inlet area. The following marine equipment was listed, three whaleboats with sail power, three powered whaleboats, one trap boat, twenty-two boats and canoes, one 15 H.P. and seven 10 H.P. motors, three $7\frac{1}{2}$ H.P. motors, four $5\frac{1}{2}$ H.P. motors, based on supplementary census, 1961.

Thirteen men had no marine equipment with the exception of small home-made boats for hunting immediately offshore or from the floe-edge.

There were thirty-five dogteams ranging in size from six to sixteen dogs:

No. of Dogs	Teams
6 - 9	5
10	10
11	7
12	3
13	3
14	5
16	2
	<hr/> 35

Sharing of team by teenage sons with father.

Dogteams

The average working dogteam consists of ten to twelve dogs. Those in the camps are better maintained than in the settlement simply because they are better and more regularly fed. The camp people hunt more frequently and, as a result, establish ample dog food caches for winter use. In June 1967, the Nadlua were still using whale caches established in the summer of 1966. Dogteams in the settlement tend to be neglected when their owners are working full-time or on a seasonal basis in the settlement. During the summer the dogs are chained and unable to forage for themselves.

In the winter, dogs are fed every day if possible; otherwise they are fed on alternate days. A mature ringed seal is required as a meal for a team of ten to twelve dogs. In the summer, camp dogs forage at will on seal or whale carcasses. At Qaornak in 1967, the dogs were chained to prevent them from destroying seal-skins drying on racks. The Nadlua Eskimos simply placed drying sealskins on the top of storage sheds.

Sled dogs are normally worked only after one year of age. Considering the working conditions, the life span of sled dogs is surprisingly long and individual dogs may reach 11-13 years. Dogs are vaccinated against disease by the R.C.M.P. and debilitating dog epidemics are largely a thing of the past.

The major resource use problem in the eastern Arctic lies in devising alternative and economical use of sea mammals for the benefit of Eskimos in small communities.

There is evidence that settlement Eskimos will hunt on an increased scale due to an increased efficiency in transportation and hunting equipment simply because they have increased material needs and wants. The take of sealskins in various areas has not dropped in recent years despite a decline in prices and the sealskin take continues to exceed the numbers taken prior to the price rise.

Rifles

The most commonly used rifles are the .303, .222 and .22. The Eskimos feel the .303 is superior to the 30.30 for distance, accuracy and killing power in hunting caribou. Some hunters pride themselves on being able to kill two caribou with one shell. The .222 which was introduced in the early 1960s is highly valued as an all-purpose rifle in hunting small sea mammals and can be used for hunting caribou and geese. The .22 rifle is used in hunting seals in open-water, small game (hare and ptarmigan) and occasionally caribou. The .243, .270, 30.06 and 25.20 rifles are not in common use. The popularity of rifles depends to a high degree on the availability of rifles and ammunition.

In the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area, the distribution of .303s and ammunition by the Canadian Rangers during World War II greatly increased the use of this rifle. The .303 is a more cheaply priced than other high calibre rifles. In the Iglulik area, the .303 is popular for hunting walrus and caribou.

Avatuk

The avatuk is used in both seal and whale hunting as a float. Elsewhere, in zones accessible to the DEWline, this has been superseded in part by a ten gallon drum. The bladder dart is used for retrieving game taken in open-water from the floe-edge. The niutang or whale drag has virtually disappeared although one specimen was seen in 1967 at Qaornak on the west side of Eclipse Sound. The niutang was an important device in kayak hunting for whale and seal. Today the use of motorized water transportation and rifles has rendered this device somewhat obsolete, although it is still functional.

The harpoon shaft consists merely of a bolt of iron with cording to form a handle and permit a stronger handgrip. The large narwhal harpoon like the niutang is passing into obsolescence in terms of contemporary use.

One specimen of the kayak was in existence in the Pond Inlet area in 1967. The last one in use in the Admiralty Inlet area was smashed at Bell Bay in 1957. In the contemporary period, kayaks were used in the Buchan Gulf area up until the 1940s and continued in use in the Eclipse Sound area until the 1950's. There were an estimated six kayaks in the Pond Inlet area in the early 1950's and these were being used by Eskimos living in the relatively protected areas of Milne Inlet and the southern part of Eclipse Sound. Elsewhere, skiffs and homemade boats had superseded the kayak. Kayak building was a lengthy procedure carried out over a varying period of up to two months. Deterioration was rapid and the average life span of a kayak was two years. Older men skilled in making kayaks have died. The use of sealskin as kayak covers was superseded by store purchased canvas stretched over a wooden frame and coated with paint to render it waterproof. The remaining kayak is similar in construction to those seen in the Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos (1928, p.92).

TABLE 8 - Equipment of Pond Inlet Eskimos (excluding camp Eskimos)

Hunter	Rifles	Skiff	Canoe	Whaleboat Speedboat	Outboard Motor	Ski-doo	Dogs	Traps	Bin	Fish Nets	Seal Nets
X	.303 .222 (63)	-	1 (49)	-	-	-	5	10	1	1	2
X	.222 (62) .22 (64)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	.222 (64) .303 (61) .222 (66)	-	1 (65)	-	9 H.P.	1 (66)	-	-	1	-	3
X	.222 (64) .303 (63) .222 (66)	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
X	.303 .303 .22	-	-	1	9½ H.P.	-	12	-	-	1	1
X	.303 (63) .222 (67)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
X	.222 (65) .22	-	1 (66)	-	-	-	14	25	-	1	-
X	.222 (66) .22 (66)	1 (64)	-	-	6 (65)	-	8	-	1	-	1
X	.303 (64) .303 (66) .222 (66) .22 (66)	Pontoon Boat	-	-	35 H.P.	-	10	200	1	4	1
X	.270 (64)	-	1 (59)	-	9 H.P. (65)	1 (65)	-	-	-	-	-
X	.303 (66) .222 (63) .22 (66)	1	-	-	9 H.P. (64)	-	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	-	19	20	1	1	1

Year of purchase, in brackets, follows type of equipment.

(Continued)

TABLE 8 - (continued)

Hunter	Rifles	Skiff	Canoe	Whaleboat Speedboat	Outboard Motor	Ski-doo	Dogs	Traps	Bin	Fish Nets	Seal Nets
X	.222 (66) 30.06 (64)	- -	- -	- -	10 (66) -	- -	10 -	34 -	- -	1 -	1 -
X	30.30 (66) .222 (67) .22 (67)	1 - -	- - -	- - -	9 H.P. - -	- - -	14 - -	24 - -	- - -	- - -	1 - -
X	.303 (54) .222 (67) .22 (66)	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 (66) - -	- - -	12 - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
X	.300 (67) .22 (66) .303 (66)	1 - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	11 - -	5 - -	(63) - -	1 - -	1 - -
X	.303 (65) .222 (63) .222 (63)	- - -	- - -	- - -	10 H.P. (60) -	- - -	6 - -	15 - -	- - -	1 - -	1 - -
X	- - -	- - -	- - -	S W -	8 H.P. (57) 35 H.P. (62)	1 (65) - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2 - -	- - -
X	30.30 .222	1 (62) -	- -	- -	5 (61) 10 (63)	- -	10 -	50 -	1 -	2 -	- -
X	.303 (64) .222 (66) .22 (61)	1 (64) - -	- - -	- - -	5 (63) - -	1 (66) 1 (67) -	- - -	11 - -	1 - -	1 - -	- - -
X	.222 (64) .22 (65)	1 (67) -	1 (65) -	- -	18 (63) -	1 (65) -	- -	24 -	1 -	1 -	- -

(Continued)

TABLE 8 (continued)

[illegible]

TABLE 9 - Annual Estimated Sales of Ammunition and Other Items used in Hunting and Trapping²⁴

Item	Pond Inlet	Arctic Bay
.303 ammunition	- (1)	1,400 rounds
30.30 "	1,000 rounds	1,940 "
.22 "	47,500 "	27,650 "
.222 "	17,000 "	1,340 "
Fox traps	369 each	- each
Outboard gas	4,800 gallons	2,028 gallons
Motor oil	600 quarts	323 quarts
Naphtha	1,950 gallons	1,148 gallons
Kerosene	300 "	"
Coleman stoves	6 each	11 each
Primus stoves	- each	- each
Duffle	409 yards	151 yards
Grenfell drill	48 "	160 "
Canvas	400 "	948 "

²⁴Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg.

TABLE 10 - Estimated Annual Renewal Rate of Hunting and Trapping Equipment, Pond Inlet Area^x

Item	Type	Estimated Annual Sales	Price (dollars)
Ammunition	.22 longs	700 boxes (50 rounds/box)	.95
	.222	805 " (20 shells/box)	3.95
	30.30	150 " (20 " ")	4.80
	.303	200 " (25 " ")	5.50
Rifles	.22 (Cooley)	20	14.00- 32.00
	.222 (Remington, Savage)	5-8	170.00- 80.90
	30.30 (Remington)	3-4	105.00
	.303	sell only if Canadian Ranger rifle broken	40.00- 70.00
Fox traps		150 traps in an average year	1.25
Wolf traps	-	-	3.85
Outboard motors	18 H.P.	1-2	500.00
	10 H.P.	2-3	400.00
	5 H.P.	1-2	300.00

(Continued)

TABLE 10 - (continued)

Item	Type	Estimated Annual Sales	Price (dollars)
Boats	skiffs	1-3	185.00
	20 ft. freight canoe	1	775.00
	22 ft. " "	1-2	900.00
P.O.L.	outboard motor	3,000 gallons	1.10
	lubricating oil	600 quarts	.65
Ski-doo's	10 H.P.	6-8	850.00
Nylon twine	4-5½ inch mesh	20 lbs.	
Seal netting twine	-	200 - 300 lbs.	3.25
Coleman stoves	2 burners	6-8	24.95
Primus stoves	-	-	11.95
Naphtha	-	1,500 gallons	1.10
Tent canvas	-	1,000 yards	1.10
Gas lamp		1-2	23.50
Steel shoeing	18' x 2½" x 1/8"	-	16.50
Sled planks	-	-	42.00
Sleeping bags	cotton-down filled	12	24.95
Snow knife blade	14" blade	-	5.95

*Hudson's Bay Company, Pond Inlet

The 10 H.P. motor is the most popular motor in the Pond Inlet area due to gas consumption and travelling speed. The 5 H.P. is satisfactory during the break-up period and for short distance hunts from the floe-edge. The 10 H.P. can be used satisfactorily with either skiff or canoe while the 5 H.P. is less satisfactory with canoes and the 18 H.P. motor cannot be used with skiffs. Primus stoves have been superseded in popularity by coleman stoves which are more satisfactory both for travelling and use in camps. The coleman gas lamp is used only in the camps where electricity is not available. The average life span of rifles is estimated to be from three to four years depending on usage and care. Broken rifles are salvaged for usable parts. In general, the Pond Inlet Eskimos take good care of their rifles in comparison to the Iglulik Eskimos. This is partly due to the influence of the R.C.M.P. and the fact that the .303 Ranger rifles have been subject to an annual inspection. Tents are not stocked since the Eskimos make their own tents, using on the average, thirty yards of canvas to a tent. As illustrated by the equipment owned and available statistics, the Pond Inlet area

Eskimos are relatively well-equipped. Minor price differences exist in respect to the costs of basic hunting and trapping equipment between Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Dogs are not sold among Eskimos in the area. In the other eastern Arctic communities, Igloolik for example, dogs are valued at \$10.00 each regardless of age or condition. In the western Arctic dogs are valued at much higher rates, \$25.00 to \$35.00.

TABLE 11 - Estimated Costs of Basic Hunting and Trapping Outfit

Item	Estimated Value (dollars)
Komatik	116.00 materials (planking and shoeing) 50.00 labour
Dogs	100.00 (10.00 per dog)
Harness and dog lines	50.00 (labour and materials)
Rifles - .303*	-
.222	170.00
.22	32.00 (repeater)
Traps	62.50 based on replacement value 1.25 x 50 traps
Tent	33.00
Coleman stove	24.95
Skiff	185.00
Canoe	775.00
10 H.P. motor	400.00
Seal net	20.00
Fish net	10.00
Other hunting equipment	25.00 (harpoon, snowknife, saw)
Binoculars	32.00
Sleeping bag	24.95
Total	<u>2,110.40</u>

* Supplied free through Canadian Rangers

TABLE 12 - Costs of Basic Hunting and Trapping Equipment
Arctic Bay, 1967

Item	Price (dollars)
30.30	repeater - 110.00
30.08	140.00
.243	155.00
.222	170.00
12 gauge Mossberg Bolt Action Shotgun	65.00
30.30 ammunition	4.50 box 20
.303	5.55 " 20
.222	4.25 " 20
.22	1.09 " 50
Fox traps	1.30 per trap
6 H.P. Johnson outboard motor	325.00
9½ H.P. " " "	425.00
18 H.P. " " "	510.00
20 H.P. Evinrude	670.00
22 freight canoe (Voyageur)	530.00
Plywood skiff	155.00
Ski-doos (10½ H.P. Olympics)	770.00
Outboard gas	1.25 gallon
Kerosene	1.25 "
Naphtha	1.25 "
Primus stoves	12.00 each
Coleman stoves (double burner)	25.30 each (double burner)
Tent canvas	.99 yard
Snowknife blade only	6.00 each
Saw	3.20 "
Duffle	9.50 yard
Grenfell cloth	3.25 "
Stroud	8.50 "

Three 18 H.P. Johnsons and one 20 H.P. Evinrude motor were on order by Eskimos.

TABLE 13 - Equipment Owned by Arctic Bay Eskimos, 1967

Hunter-Trapper	Traps	Guns	Motors	Boats	Dogs	Fish Nets	Seal Nets	B.T.
X	9	.303, .222 .22	H.P.	canoe skiff	11	2	0	-
X	57	30.30, 303 .222, .22	10 H.P. 9 H.P.	canoe skiff	7 -	3 -	1 -	- -
X	40	.303, .222	9½	Evinrude skiff	9	0	0	-
X	25	.303, 222, .22	5½ H.P.	canoe	5	2	0	T.

(Continued)

TABLE 13 - (continued)

Hunter-Trapper	Traps	Guns	Motors	Boats	Dogs	Fish Nets	Seal Nets	B.T.
X	40	.303, .222, .22	none	-	13	1	-	T.
X	60	30.30, 303 25.20, .22	-	-	13	3	2	B.
X	34	.303, .222	none	-	13	1	-	T.
X	60	.303(2), .222 .22, 16 g. shotgun	18 H.P. 10 H.P. 5 H.P.	canoe skiff	14 -	1 -	- -	B. -
X	-	.303, 270	18 H.P. 15 H.P.	canoe	-	1	-	B.
X	40	.303(2), .222 .22(2)	5 H.P. skiff	- -	12 -	1 -	- -	B. -
X	25	.303, .22	-	-	12	1	1	T.
X	40	.303(2), .222, .22	-	-	equipment lost 1967		1	T.
X	50	.303, .22	10 H.P.	canoe	5	1	1	T.
X	0	.303	old boat broken	-	9	1	-	T.
X	65	.303	5 H.P.	skiff	3	1	-	T.
X	50	.303, .222 .303	5 Johnson 6 H.P.	skiff skiff	ski-doc -	1 -	- -	T. T.
X	20	.303, .222	-	-	9	-	-	-
X	19	.303, .22	-	-	12	2	-	-
X	25	.303, .22	-	skiff	9	-	-	T.

B. - Binocular, T - Telescope

The application for purchase was made under the Small Boat Assistance Plan sponsored by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The down payment of \$940.00 was made in April 1965, and the boat was delivered on the 1965 sea-lift.¹

¹The annual schedule of payments for the boat was calculated at \$200.00 per year with final payment to take place in 1974.

Small Boats Assistance Scheme

The Small Boats Assistance Scheme of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources came into effect in 1962 to assist Eskimos to purchase boats suitable for resource harvesting in an attempt to bolster local economies. Eskimos wishing to purchase a 24 foot - 36 foot open trap boat or a 40' foot to 46 foot decked longliner are required to make a 20 per cent down payment of the total cost of the boat. A formal application is made for a loan from the Eskimo loan fund, amounting to 40 per cent of the boat cost. The Eskimo purchaser pays an additional 10 per cent of the appraised value to defray freight expenses. The remaining cost of approximately 30 per cent takes the form of a government grant. By 1967, eleven trap boats and two longliners had been obtained by Eskimos in the eastern and central Arctic. Six trap boats and one longliner were obtained in the western Arctic.

On March 15, 1963, six members of Qaornak camp made application for the purchase of a Cape Island type boat with a 15 H.P. Acadia motor to replace an old whaleboat which had been in use at the camp and which was powered by oar and sail, outboard motors being used for auxiliary power.

By the summer of 1967, four of the original purchasers had moved into Pond Inlet and settled in Eskimo low rental housing. A fifth member moved to the Kuktujuk camp close to Pond Inlet. The one remaining member of the original group used the boat for hunting at Qaornak in the summer of 1967.

The question of housing at Qaornak is an associated problem. Qaornak was the only camp in the Pond Inlet area without low-cost Eskimo housing. However, it now seems unlikely that the provision of housing would result in re-occupation of the camp by original members.

Ipiarjuk Boat

This boat was a 35 foot trap boat with a diesel engine. Four members of the camp pooled their resources to buy this boat under the Small Boats Assistance Scheme. They made a down payment of \$940.00 in April 1965. A further payment of \$263.00 was made in 1965. The remaining amount was divided into small payments, lasting until 1974.

The boat was used extensively during open-water season in 1966 and provided transportation for hunting seals and an extended caribou hunt into the Paquet Bay area. The boat was destroyed early in September 1967, during a storm which broke the anchor hold with subsequent drifting from its location in a small bay north of Pond Inlet to Kuktujuk. In August, 1967, the boat was chartered by a survey party and provided \$600.00 in revenue. Three families subsequently moved into the settlement from Ipiarjuk for the winter. The camp boss was included in the group that moved into the settlement.

Longliner

One longliner is owned in the community by the R.C.M.P. special constable. The boat was on charter in 1965 to the Department of Fisheries for a narwhal netting project in the Koluktoo Bay area. In 1967, the longliner was reserved for the use of the R.C.M.P. and not readily available for charter. The boat has been successfully used in harvesting seals and fish in the Milne Inlet area but has not been used on a community scale.

Periodicity of the Maxima and Minima in Fox Numbers

On the basis of data supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company and various authorities on animal cycles, Miller (1955, p.70) concluded there was a mean periodicity of 4.0 years for the maxima and minima in fur return for Arctic fox at Pond Inlet between 1921-1922 and 1953-1954

In the later periods, 1956-1957 and 1966-1967

Maxima	No. Taken	Interval	Minima	No. Taken	Interval
1957-1958	904	-	1959-1960	614	3 years
1960-1961	1,365	3 years	1962-1963	24	-
1964-1965	649	-	1965-1966	52	2 years

It should be remembered that during this period Arctic Bay trappers traded at Pond Inlet and Iglulik trappers were trading into Pond Inlet up until 1939, and also Arctic Bay from 1936-1939. The Iglulik trappers also traded into Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay during the period 1943-1947, when the post closed due to failure of the supply ship to reach Igloolik.

Determination of maxima and minima has been complicated in recent years by the fact that trappers are spending less time in trapping during the season and fox taken does not appear to represent maximum harvesting of this resource.

Fur and Sealskin Trade at Pond Inlet

The furs and sealskins traded at Pond Inlet have been listed as well as the fur and sealskin exports. Cross referencing between the two returns indicates some differences between furs traded and furs exported. There are a number of reasons for this. Furs, particularly polar bear and some white fox are purchased by local residents. Also some furs are not exported in the same year they are taken. The game returns give a reasonably accurate reflection of the total take, while not defining use. Some damaged furs are kept for personal use or handicraft production. Also, an average family utilizes **an estimated ten to fifteen** sealskins annually in the production of boots and mitts in addition to increasing numbers used in local handicraft production.

TABLE 14 - Fox Take, Pond Inlet Area

Season	White Fox		Blues	
	Game Report	F.E.R.	Game Report	F.E.R.
1957-1958	906	-	15	-
1958-1959	731	-	11	-
1959-1960	614	614	7	7
1960-1961	1,365	1,376	-	8
1961-1962	633	669	-	12
1962-1963	24	10	-	-
1963-1964	283	289	3	-

(Continued)

TABLE 14 - (continued)

Season	White Fox		Blues	
	Game Report	F.E.R.	Game Report	F.E.R.
1964-1965	649	619	-	-
1965-1966	52	51	-	-
1966-1967	274	274	-	-

Game report - tabled by R.C.M.P.

Fur export report - furs actually shipped during year.

Of 20 polar bears reported taken in 1966-1967, only nine were traded at the Hudson's Bay Company. This is in contrast to Arctic Bay where the non-Eskimo population is small and there is less local demand for polar bear skins.

TABLE 15 - Fur Traders Record Book, Pond Inlet, N.W.T., 1961-1967

Year	Polar Bear	Average Price	White Fox	Average Price	Ermine	Average Price	Other Seals	Average Price	Silver Seals	Average Price	Common Seals	Average Price
1961-1962	1	\$ 51.00	664	\$ 8.88	.75	\$.52	-	-	-	-	1,548	\$ 4.50
1962-1963	1	40.00	11	10.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,684	7.69
1963-1964	-	-	283	11.25	-	-	3	21.66	787	22.48	1,695	10.88
1964-1965	8	90.00	649	8.66	-	-	2	20.00	1,046	12.50	2,000	10.63
1965-1966	1	90.00	63	15.12	-	-	-	-	435	7.29	2,522	5.27
1966-1967	2	80.00	274	15.32	-	-	5	17.45	-	-	3,358	4.80

1961-1962, 1962-1963 - listing of seals includes both common seal and silver seal.
 1961-1963 - Arctic hare skins were traded at an average value of 75 cents.
 1966-1967 - one wolf was listed.

Pond Inlet

The following fur and sealskin income pertains strictly to income from furs and sealskin traded at the Hudson's Bay Company store.

TABLE 16 - Income From Fur and Sealskins

Year	Income (dollars)	Year	Price (dollars)
1961-1962	13,090.35	1964-1965	40,733.75
1962-1963	13,110.25	1965-1966	17,464.88
1963-1964	39,387.50	1966-1967	20,563.75

TABLE 17 - Fur Export Returns, Pond Inlet[#]

Period	Polar Bear	Red Fox	White Fox	Ermine	Period	Polar Bear	Red Fox	White Fox	Ermine
1959-1960	39	-	614	24	1963-1964	16	-	289	-
1960-1961	4	-	1,376	66	1964-1965	-	-	619	-
1961-1962	12	-	669	75	1965-1966	16	-	51	-
1962-1963	10	-	-	-	1966-1967	9	-	276	-

[#]Game department records, Fort Smith, N.W.T. In addition seven blue fox were turned in during 1959-1960 and one cross fox was turned in during 1962-1963. One wolf was traded in 1966-1967.

TABLE 18 - Fur Export Returns For Other Settlements

Period	Polar Bear	Blue Fox	White Fox	Period	Polar Bear	Blue Fox	White Fox
1963-1964				1963-1964			
Arctic Bay	6	5	396	Spence Bay	9	-	1,414
Igloolik	22	5	239	Resolute	57	-	289
Clyde	48	2	295	Grise Fiord	16	3	304
1964-1965				1964-1965			
Arctic Bay	3	-	1,164	Spence Bay	40	8	1,558
Igloolik	25	8	2,087	Resolute	89	-	289
Clyde	62	3	866	Grise Fiord	8	1	70

(Continued)

TABLE 18 - (continued)

Period	Polar Bear	Blue Fox	White Fox	Period	Polar Bear	Blue Fox	White Fox
1965-1966				1965-1966			
Arctic Bay	22	2	261	Spence Bay	43	2	594
Igloolik	25	-	518	Resolute	70	-	81
Clyde	25	2	106	Grise Fiord	35	-	66
1966-1967				1966-1967			
Arctic Bay	23	-	755	Spence Bay	22	-	261
Igloolik	25	3	518	Resolute	72	-	81
Clyde	25	2	106	Grise Fiord	49	6	84

Based on returns submitted by game officers charged with issuing fur permits for export of furs and sealskins.

In 1966-1967, four wolves and one ermine were turned in at Igloolik. Four wolves were traded at Grise Fiord and Igloolik in 1966-1967.

Tables have been included for both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay to illustrate the fluctuations in the numbers of furs and sealskins traded on a monthly basis. It should be noted that the table for Pond Inlet shows a low point in the fox cycle.

TABLE 19 - Pond Inlet Monthly Fur and Sealskin Returns, 1965-1966

Month	White Fox	Total Value (dollars)	Silver Seals	Total Value (dollars)	Common Seals	Total Value (dollars)
June, 1966	-	-	-	-	-	-
July	-	-	298	2,330.00	233	1,787.00
August	-	-	104	716.25	307	2,134.50
September	-	-	33	128.00	125	480.75
October	-	-	-	-	69	269.75
November	-	-	-	-	198	703.40
December	9	107.25	-	-	228	872.35
January	8	113.00	-	-	189	775.17
February	9	-	-	-	216	874.00
March	11	223.00	-	-	278	1,632.55
April	9	172.50	-	-	182	1,253.50
May	5	84.00	-	-	278	1,272.65
June, 1966	-	-	-	-	219	1,254.86

One polar bear skin was traded in September (value \$90.00)

TABLE 20 - Arctic Bay Monthly Fur and Sealskin
Returns, 1965-1966

Month	Polar Bear	Total Value (dollars)	White Fox	Total Value (dollars)	Common Seals	Total Value (dollars)
June, 1965	-	-	-	-	-	-
July	-	-	-	-	679	2,384.67
August	-	-	-	-	200	1,021.78
September	-	-	-	-	315	1,092.60
October	-	-	-	-	302	1,024.65
November	-	-	1	4.00	292	967.95
December	1	100.00	80	341.50	113	375.25
January	-	-	36	377.50	65	218.35
February	1	75.00	63	800.00	210	701.95
March	-	-	24	341.50	195	632.20
April	5	430.00	19	207.30	92	353.15
May	10	970.00	36	182.50	142	866.75
June, 1966	2	290.00	-	-	210	1,412.50

Average Value of White Fox, N.W.T.

Over the long term, white fox pelt prices have shown price fluctuations with the early 1940's being years of high prices followed by a slump in the 1950's and a brief rise in prices in 1958-1961. Until the late 1950's and 1960's, there were no major alternative sources of revenue for the north Baffin Eskimos who were faced with both price and cyclic fluctuations. The institution of family allowances gave hunters-trappers a source of supplementary income in both the winter trapping and non-trapping summer periods. For some poor or indifferent trappers it proved a boon in purchasing staple foods and ammunition.

The following table illustrates the increase in sealskin prices which occurred in the early 1960's.

TABLE 21 - Rise and Decline in Sealskin Prices,
Pond Inlet, 1961-1967*

Season	Common Seals	Average Price (dollars)	Silver Seals	Average Price (dollars)	Other Seals	Average Price (dollars)
1961-1962	1,548	4.50	-	-	-	-
1962-1963	1,684	7.69	-	-	-	-
1963-1964	1,695	10.88	787	22.48	3	21.66
1964-1965	2,000	10.63	1,046	12.50	2	20.00
1965-1966	2,522	5.27	435	7.29	-	-
1966-1967	3,358	4.80	-	-	5	17.45

*In 1955-1956, prices of \$2.00-\$3.00 were being paid to hunters for silver jars while the price of common seals had risen from \$1.00 to \$1.60.

In 1961-1962 and 1962-1963, no distinction was made between common ringed seals and silver jar seals. There was a rise in production from 1961 to 1964 in response to increased prices. A minor decrease in production occurred in 1965-1966, but this may have been due to a multiplicity of factors, the chief one being price decline. However, in 1966-1967 production rose to 3,358 despite low price. Prices have not yet dropped to a point where the hunters feel it is uneconomical to produce sealskins for trade.

Recent fluctuations in numbers and prices of sealskins traded at Arctic Bay have been listed in the following table. Production reached a high point in 1965-1966, despite low average prices. The fox take was low during that year and hunter-trappers were attempting to supplement low incomes from this source.

TABLE 22 - Sealskin Production, Arctic Bay

	Silver Seals	Average Price (dollars)	Common Seals	Average Price (dollars)
1961-1962	-	-	536	4.92
1962-1963	-	-	1,677	9.16
1963-1964	473	24.22	744	13.50
1964-1965	315	10.60	1,784	9.05
1965-1966	-	-	2,816	3.95
1966-1967	-	-	1,255	7.47

Silver Jars

During the mid 1950's to the end of the 1950's silver jars were predominant both in numbers and value in the sealskins trade at Pond Inlet and only superior skins of both silver jars and common ringed seals were accepted in trade.

TABLE 23 - Trade in Silver Jar Skins

Year	Total Sealskins Traded	Silver Jars
1956-1957	1,038	62.7% of total traded
1957-1958	922	65.6% " " "
1958-1959	988	60% " " "
1959-1960	1,529	55.6% " " "

McLaren (paragraph 58, p.3) states that the silver jar catch varies between 15-20 per cent of the catch on most coastlines.

In the Pond Inlet area, silver jars have constituted a larger percentage of the seals taken during the period of high sealskin prices.

TABLE 24 - Ringed Seal Harvest

Year	Total Estimated Seal Catch	Total Traded	Percentage Common	Percentage Silver Jars
1963-1964	3,000	1,882	58.7%	41.3%
1964-1965	4,500	3,046	65.7%	34.3%
1965-1966	4,000	2,957	88.67	11.33%

During the period of high sealskin prices, the majority of suitable common and silver jar skins were traded with only essential clothing skins being retained. Handicraft production was at a low level. The declining percentage take of silver jars in 1965-1966 appears to be attributable to the closing gap in price between silver jars and common sealskins.

Comparative figures are available for other settlements during the same period.

TABLE 25 - Sealskin Production in Other Centers

Year	Location	Common Seals	Average Price (dollars)	Silver Seals	Average Price (dollars)
1961-1962	Arctic Bay	536	4.90	-	-
	Igloolik	326	4.85	-	-
	Clyde	708	5.80	-	-
	Broughton Island	832	4.82	-	-
1962-1963	Arctic Bay	1,677	9.16	-	-
	Igloolik	709	6.75	-	-
	Clyde	1,585	6.75	-	-
	Broughton Island	1,765	8.51	-	-
1963-1964	Arctic Bay	774	13.50	473	24.22
	Igloolik	2,337	13.06	1,142	19.21
	Clyde	1,485	11.94	597	16.20
	Broughton Island	2,642	11.74	527	14.96
	Resolute	1,367	12.78	375	23.65
1964-1965	Arctic Bay	1,784	9.62	315	10.60
	Igloolik	1,244	9.15	1,244	17.14
	Clyde	1,539	7.75	323	10.13
	Resolute	46	15.23	93	18.48
	Grise Fiord	223	9.62	79	11.89
1965-1966	Arctic Bay	2,816	3.92	-	-
	Igloolik	2,053	5.66	-	-
	Clyde	1,768	4.80	246	4.43
	Resolute	no sealskin traded	-	-	-
	Grise Fiord	377	7.30	96	10.45

(Continued)

TABLE 25 - (continued)

Year	Location	Common Seals	Average Price (dollars)	Silver Seals	Average Price (dollars)
1966-1967	Arctic Bay	1,225	7.47	-	-
	Igloolik	1,019	6.54	-	-
	Clyde	874	6.56	1,174	5.53
	Resolute	3	10.00	-	-
	Grise Fiord	123	7.41	80	9.89

TABLE 26 - Production and Average Value of Sealskins, N.W.T.*

Year	Production	Average Value (dollars)	Year	Production	Average Value (dollars)
1961-1962	10,470	8.49	1964-1965	63,332	11.78
1962-1963	27,045	14.73	1965-1966	51,197	5.97
1963-1964	46,962	15.64	1966-1967	46,335	6.82

*As sold to traders.

A high point was reached in sealskin values in 1963-1964. By this time hunters had realized the potential income to be gained from seal hunting and production rose further in 1964-1965. Despite a decline in prices, production has remained well above the 1961-1962 production level.

Trapping

Trapping gradually assumed importance in the subsistence economy following the appearance of the whalers who developed fur trading as a sideline to the main occupation of whaling. It appears likely that trapping as an economic endeavour became a stable part of the subsistence activity in the period of the mid-thirties and forties. In the thirties the influx of Cape Dorset Eskimos into the Admiralty Inlet area resulted in the establishment of more systematically operated trap lines. The founding of Fort Ross, in 1937, resulted in an influx of Eskimos (from both the Spence Bay and the Admiralty Inlet area) and the establishment of semi-permanent camps in the Somerset Island and Crosswell Bay area.

The trapping patterns are similar to those currently practised by other Eskimo groups on Baffin Island. Both the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay Eskimos are more efficient trappers than the majority of Igloolik trappers and operate longer lines on a more regular basis. Fluctuations in fox numbers and prices and a conflict in interests militate against efficient trapping procedures or trapping as a full-time activity. Trapping is essentially a littoral affair although some trappers operate on the sea-ice (principally in the Button Point and Cape Walter Bathurst area where trapping activities can be combined with polar bear hunting and floe-edge hunting).

TABLE 27 - Variations in Traps Owned by Pond Inlet Area Trappers

Range in No. of Traps	No. of Trappers	Range in No. of Traps	No. of Trappers
1 - 9	3	75	1
10 - 14	11	80 - 85	2
15 - 19	2	200	2
20 - 24	6	300	1
25 - 50	7		

As can be seen from the above table, there is a wide variation in the number of traps owned by individual trappers. The Hudson's Bay Company manager at Pond felt the Pond **Inlet Eskimos were hunters rather than trappers. This** also holds true for the Iglulik Eskimos.

Sale of Traps

The sale of traps is primarily dependent on an increase in fox prices. Trappers also increase their traps if the December run of fox has been good in anticipation of increasing their take during the spring run. Experienced trappers watch the late autumn and early winter signs and have a basic knowledge of cyclical trends and movements of Arctic fox. During the trapping season, November 15 to April 15, there is an initial run in late November and early December arising out of an increase in cold weather and a decrease in food supply. This is normally followed by a lull during the coldest part of the winter. Trappers are also less active during this period of severe cold and limited light. Trapping picks up again in late February and March. This also co-incides with the fox breeding season.

Traplines vary in distance according to topography and other factors. The trappers reaching the bottom of Tay Sound and Paquet Bay frequently encounter caribou along their traplines. Trappers in the Button Point area hunt seal as well as trap. The length of trapline is extremely varied. The longest trapline in the 1966-1967 season was operated by a Nadlua trapper and extended from Low Point to Cape Charles Yorke, an approximate distance of 300 miles. He was operating 200 traps and took a week to cover his line. The shortest trapline was that of a Kuktujok trapper operating traps over a total of three miles. Traps are set at varying distances along the trapline. Seal or narwhal caches and stranded whale carcasses are favourite locations for setting traps. Traps are also set on strandlines and around erratic rocks. In coastal areas traps are set on points of land. Traps are either left exposed or set in a depression and covered with a thin slab of snow. Pond Inlet area trappers having short lines within a reasonable distance of their camp or the settlement check their traps weekly. Others with extended lines check their traps on a bi-monthly basis. Some trappers check their traps on a monthly basis and run the risk of fox being destroyed by ravens or eaten by other fox or wolves. There is also a danger of having traps rendered useless by snowstorms. Fourteen Pond Inlet trappers indicated they checked their traps weekly. Nineteen indicated they checked their traps on a bi-monthly basis. Three said they checked their traps on a monthly basis.

The establishment of traplines is dependent primarily on location. Some trappers, the Qaornukmiut or Nadluamuit, run lines extended directly from camp. Most of the trappers now in Pond Inlet travel some distance away from the

settlement. Individual traplines are respected by trappers. There is no concept of exclusive trapping areas although older trappers are quite specific about certain areas being zones they have consistently trapped. Trappers encountering a fox in someone else's trap usually reset the trap and turn the fox over to the trapper who owns the trap. Cape Charles Yorke is the western limit of Pond Inlet trappers and a few Arctic Bay trappers reach the Wollaston Islands in Navy Board Inlet. There is always a chance of taking polar bear along the Borden Peninsula headland.

Unused Areas

The zone north and west of Cape Walter Bathurst to Cape Hay is not trapped due to poor ice conditions and the breaking away of land fast-ice. The Buchan Gulf area is too far away and accessible principally by a long trip around Cape Macculloch. Heavy snows frequently cover traps in this area.

TABLE 28 - Zones Trapped By Pond Inlet Trappers, 1967

Zone	No. of Trappers	Zone	No. of Trappers
Button Point to Cape Walter	1	Oliver Sound to Beloeil Island	5
Bathurst	5	Milne Inlet, east side	3
Southeast Coast	5	Milne Inlet, west side	1
Southwest Coast Bylot Island	4	Navy Board Inlet, Low Point to Cape Charles Yorke	4
Tay Sound	3	Coutts Inlet	3
Paquet Bay	3	Ipiarjuk to Cape Macculloch	2
		Ipiarjuk to Buchan Gulf	1

It should be noted on the maps designating traplines that parallel lines are used to distinguish individual traplines rather than to denote parallel traplines, as traplines in many cases cover the same area and traps are set side by side.

Little trapping is carried on in inland areas. The use of extended bays, inlets and fiords results in trappers being able to trap fur resource areas where terrain conditions are unsuitable for traplines. In general, the coastal areas are the best areas in terms of fur resources. This is in contrast to the activities of Banks Island and Cape Dorset trappers who trap inland areas. Topographic controls seem to be the major determinant.

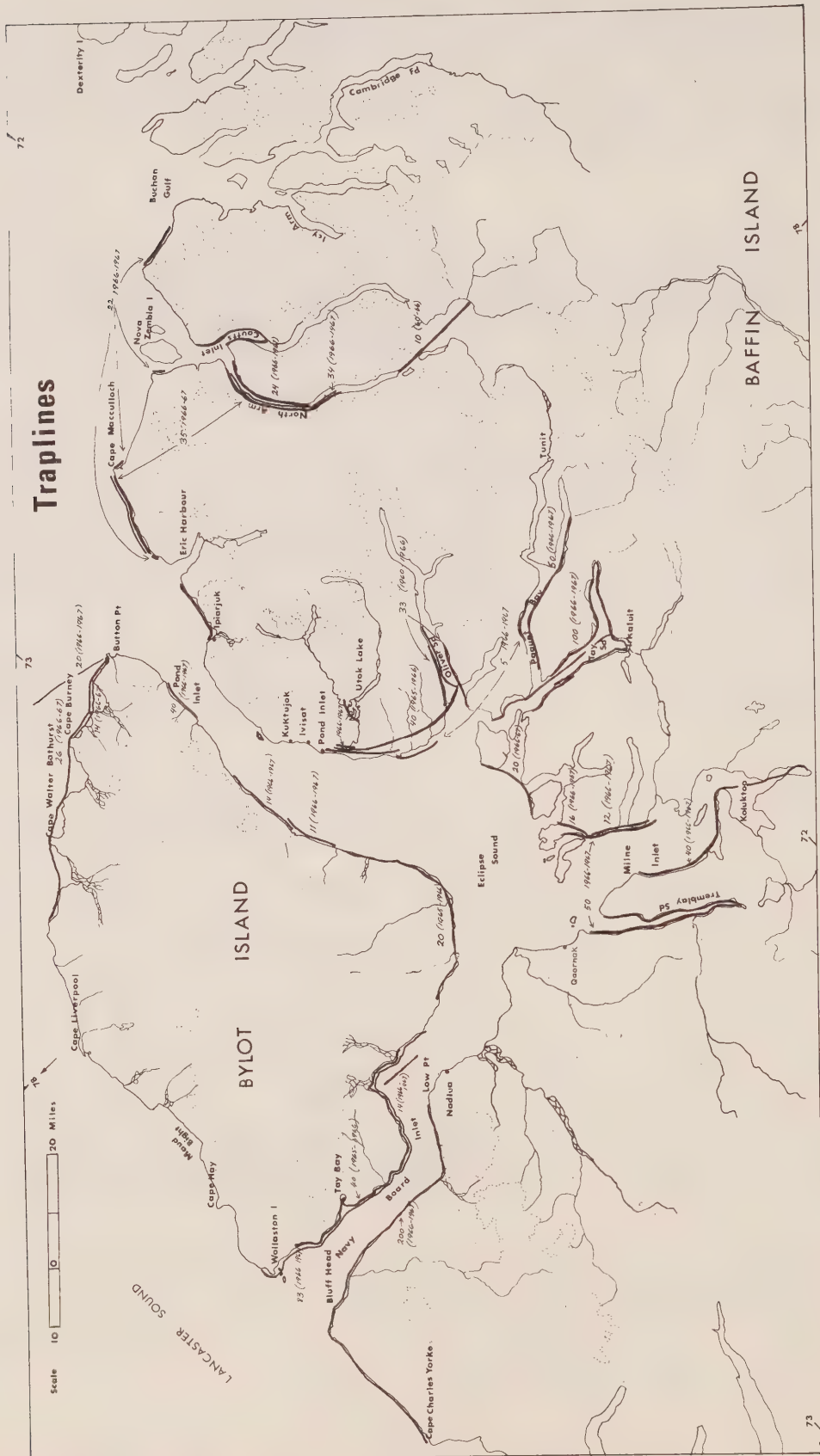
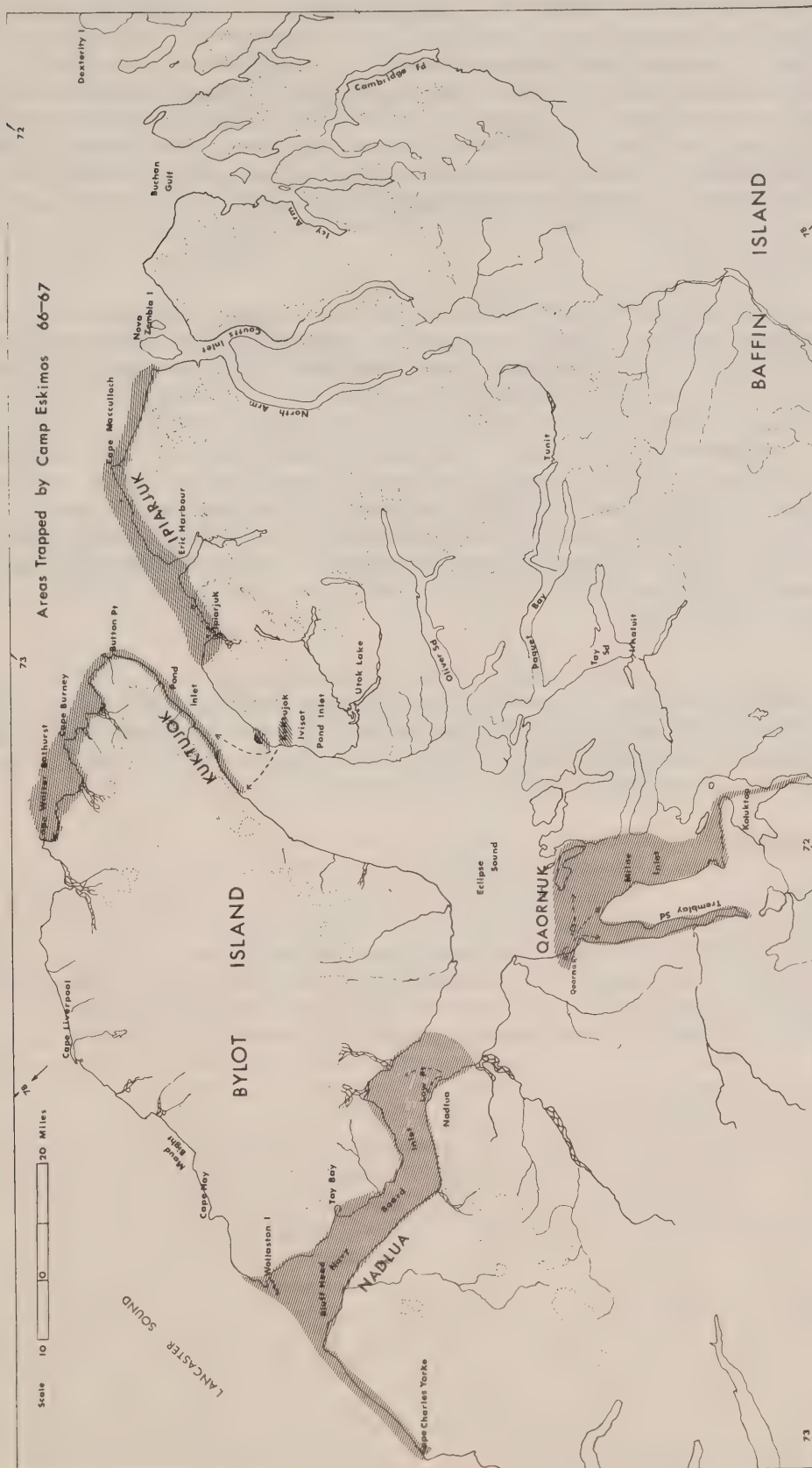


FIGURE 4 - Areas Trapped by Camp Eskimos, Pond Inlet Area, 1966-1967



Trapping as a Source of Income

There is a declining interest in trapping as a source of income. Over the past few years the returns have been low and prices have fluctuated. Interest in trapping is decreasing in favour of casual or part-time jobs in the settlement. The Pond Inlet Eskimos would like to be ensured of a good income from seal hunting to supplement poor fox returns. In 1966-1967, few trappers enjoyed good returns from trapping. There has been a tendency for Eskimos moving into part-time employment in the settlement to give up trapping and dispose of their traps by giving them away or leaving them at the camp from which they have moved.

Ski-doo Versus Dogteams

Within the Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet there are good zones for ski-doo trapping. Three employed trappers were using ski-doos to check traplines in the winter of 1966-1967. The traplines were located along the south side of Bylot and south by Pond Inlet, Tuniaqtalik point.

During the winter of 1966-1967, the camp Eskimos did not own ski-doos. In 1967-1968 two used ski-doos were purchased by camp Eskimos from settlement Eskimos. Normally camp Eskimos have not enjoyed incomes sufficiently high enough to purchase ski-doos in the Pond Inlet area. In the camps, maintenance of the ski-doos would be a greater problem than in the settlements where Eskimos enjoy the benefit of a heated ski-doos repair shed and have better access to repair equipment and parts.

It does not appear likely that the use of ski-doo will extend the resource utilization range due in part to settlement expansion and existing topographic controls. The use of ski-doos will presumably result in less time being taken in both hunting and trapping, hunting for the simple reason that the need for dog food will have decreased.

Trapping Equipment

Costs are high in terms of trapping equipment. However, the equipment used in trapping (with the exception of traps) is also used in hunting. Renewal rates are relatively low. The trapper normally requires a primus or coleman stove, snow knife, saw and rifle, in addition to his traps. He usually travels with some staples (tea, sugar, flour and baking powder) being able to secure seal along his line or use food caches established during the autumn.

Establishment of Line Cabins

The establishment of line cabins is important since it provides some inducement for settlement Eskimos to use a larger trapping area. The Area Administrator at Pond Inlet in 1967-1968, encouraged three local Eskimos to undertake an organized trapping effort using the Departmental ski-doo. The trapline extended along the south shore of Bylot Island to Oonaktuya and then south to the Milne Inlet area. Two hundred traps were set along this line. Three men were participants in the trapping project and one week was required for a patrol of the line. Results were reported to be fair. Unfortunately, this line did not take trappers beyond the present trapping area and its chief merit lay in the regularity of patrols. Projects of this nature have been tried elsewhere, in the Keewatin district and in the Cumberland Sound area with limited results. The major control factor is the abundance of fox and this is beyond the control of the trapper.

Arctic Bay Trapping Activities

Trapping patterns in the Arctic Bay area are the same as those in Pond Inlet.

The central part of Admiralty Inlet in the Yeoman Island area is heavily trapped and a duplication of trapping efforts occurs in this zone. Elsewhere, there is less duplication of efforts. In general, the Arctic Bay trappers have been more dependent on the income from trapping and fox takes have been higher than those in Pond Inlet. No large scale differences exist in respect to hunting and trapping equipment. The Arctic Bay trappers do not use seal nets as extensively as the Pond Inlet trappers and spend more time in seal hunting in the winter to meet food needs.

Within the resource zone, the west coast of Brodeur Peninsula forms the largest of the unused areas. There are good reasons for this. The area is less accessible, ice conditions are poor on the east side of Prince Regent Inlet, and seal hunting is difficult in winter. Trappers working the coast from Cape Crauford to Cape York have reported that polar bears frequently destroy baited traps.

As settlement orientation occurs, there will be an increased tendency for trappers to work nearby areas. The Hudson's Bay Company manager is interested in promoting greater trapping efforts by local trappers and better use of the total trapping area.

Traplines

The Arctic Bay trappers have a greater tendency to operate more lines than the Pond Inlet trappers. Among the Pond Inlet trappers, four trappers operated more than one line while seven trappers among the Arctic Bay trappers operated more than one line to tap better than average fox areas.

During the period of intense cold there is a pronounced tendency for fox-trapping to decline due to a decline in fox movements.

Trapping returns for the Arctic Bay Eskimos have been discussed in general terms in the historical section of the report and in comparative terms with those of Pond Inlet and other settlements during recent years. The Eskimos consider the west side of Admiralty Inlet extending from Cape Crauford to Momevik at the western entrance to Easter Sound facing Shimik Island to be the best trapping zone. In 1967, one trapper took five fox at Kingarut Hill in a single day. Along the eastern side of the Inlet, only the coastal area from Uluskan Peninsula northward is considered to be a good trapping area. Seasonal distribution of foxes varies along the west side of Admiralty Inlet and north of Uluksan Peninsula in the winter. During the summer they venture more inland but always follow the bays, sounds and inlets preying on nesting and young birds, as well as lemming and feeding on seal and whale washed up on shore.

During the period when winter camps existed in the south half of Admiralty Inlet, the Eskimos reported that the territory between Bernier Bay and Berlinguet Bay and Bell Bay was one of the best fox areas in the whole of Admiralty Inlet

Period of Darkness in Terms of Hunting and Trapping

During the dark period in November, December and January, hunters spend less time in hunting due to a decline in daylight. Attempts are made to make do with existing food caches established in the summer and autumn. Seal netting is of major importance during this period in providing fresh meat. The period of darkness in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas is relatively short from November 17 to January 25. The amount of hunting is regulated by the dictates of available food supply (both country and store foods).

During periods of the three quarters or full moon, it is possible to patrol traplines. Little or no long distance travel away from well-established and marked travel routes takes place, but trips between camps and the settlements are frequent. By late November and early December, caribou hunting has virtually ceased. The floe-edge at Button Point is not accessible from Pond Inlet until January, but aglu hunting is feasible at variable periods during the dark period. Further south in the Igloolik region, Hall Beach Eskimos, because of failure to establish adequate food caches, hunted walrus from the floe-edge in mid-December and January, despite poor light and intense cold in 1960-1964.¹

An attempt has been made to delimit the subsistence cycle as it occurs in the Pond Inlet area. Minor variations occur in the Arctic Bay area.

The Subsistence Cycle in the Admiralty Inlet Area

In the Admiralty Inlet area, the normal subsistence cycle is divided between trapping in the winter and seal and narwhal hunting during the open-water period.

The trapping season begins in mid-November and trappers put out their traps in late November and December despite the darkness. Trapping continues in January, February and March. Seal hunting is carried on through the ice in December.

Travel conditions have ameliorated sufficiently by April for polar bear hunting trips to the Prince Regent Inlet area. Only the hunters with good dog-teams and adequate supplies of dog food make the trip. The other hunters continue trapping and are also engaged in seal hunting. Trapping ceases by mid-April. In May, those hunters who are interested and equipped (dogteams and dog food) make the long trip into the southern part of Admiralty Inlet and eastward towards Quartz Lake in search of caribou. Hunters unable or unwilling to make the trip for various reasons continue seal hunting both within Admiralty Inlet and along the floe-edge in the vicinity of Cape Crauford and Elwin Inlet. In June and July, interest is concentrated on taking ringed seal both on the ice and in open-water cracks. Bearded seal hunting commences in open-water patches. Spring fishing trips are made to Eequalulik in search of char. In August and September, forays are made for narwhal hunting to the west side of Admiralty Inlet and the vicinity of Yeoman Island. Seal hunting is an integral part of these expeditions. In October, hunting is concentrated on taking ringed seals in open-water prior to freeze up and on new ice. A few hunters may make trips south for caribou and fishing in the Tadlukotit River area. In November, ringed seal hunting continues. Hunters spend time repairing equipment necessary to winter travel (dog harness, komatik, etc.).

Some indication of the operating expenses of hunters while involved in resource harvesting can be gained from the following expenses of a hunter and his

¹ Personal Observation

family in one month's hunting away from the Arctic Bay settlement: 10 gallons of gas, \$12.90; 2 boxes .22 shells, 1 box .303 (Canadian Ranger issue), \$1.98; 20 lbs. of sugar, \$3.70; coffee and tea, \$2.90; 25 lbs. of flour, \$4.75; 1 lb. baking powder, .55¢; tobacco, \$8.00; cigarettes 24 pkts., \$10.00.

During the period spent out hunting, the hunter took nine ringed seals, seven of which he hoped to sell to the Hudson's Bay Company. He also secured five narwhals, one of which had two tusks. During spells of poor weather or poor hunting, he produced five carvings valued at approximately \$75.00. His itinerary during the month included a visit to Eqaalulik, a brief visit to one or two other locations and finally a base camp at Uluksan Peninsula to hunt seals and whales moving in a north-south direction in Admiralty Inlet. Due to the high price being paid in 1967 for narwhal tusks (\$8.00 a pound), this man enjoyed a good income for the hunting period. The expenditure for a month of polar bear or caribou hunting would be approximately the same, with a lesser amount being expended on naphtha for a coleman stove or fuel oil for a primus stove. Pilot biscuits would be taken in preference to flour. An all meat diet is acceptable in cold weather, providing tea is available. The hunter would be travelling with other hunters and necessities like tea, sugar and finally tobacco would be shared.

Ringed Seals, (Phoca hispida)

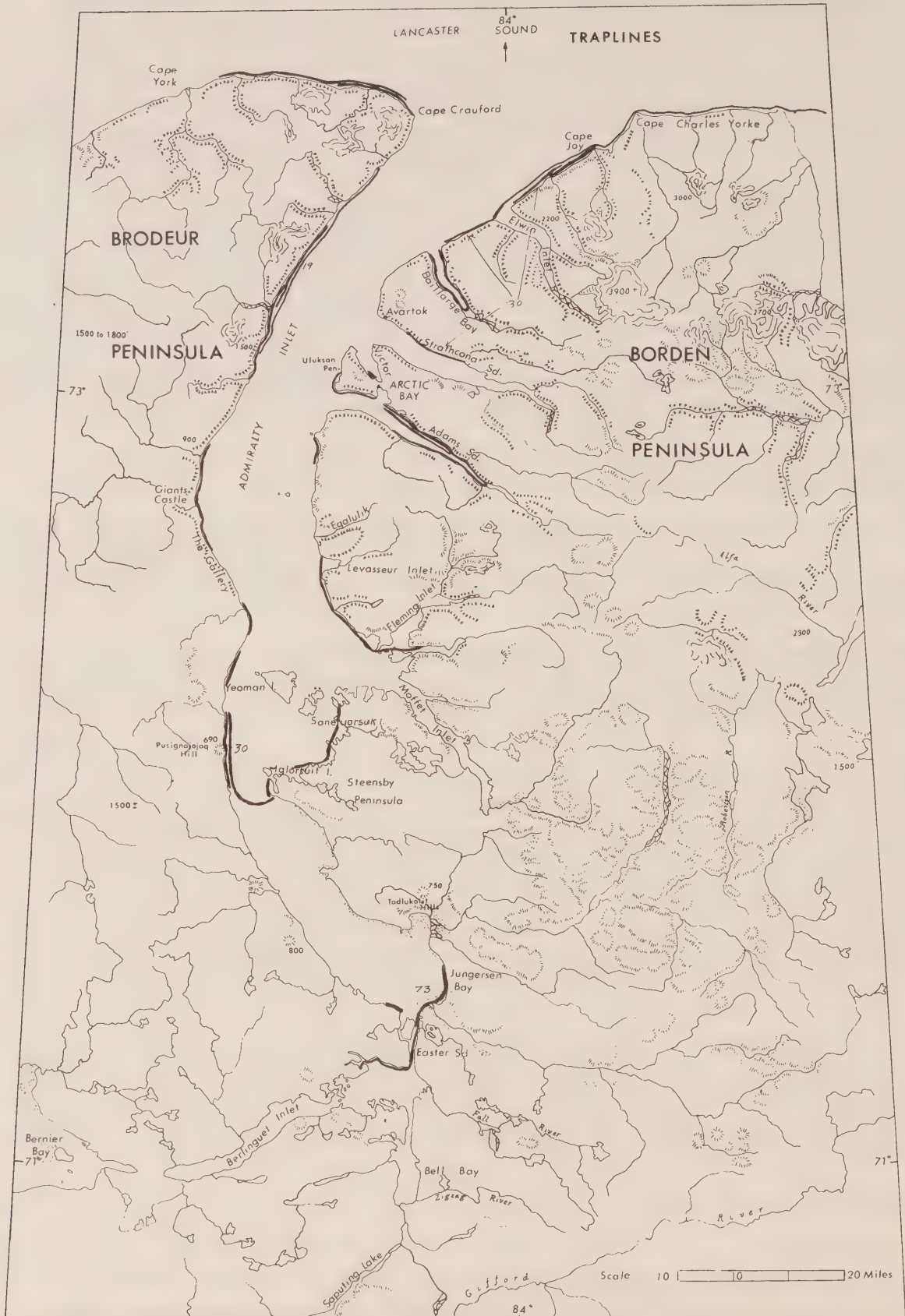
Since the modified subsistence economy is based primarily on the availability of ringed seal, it is necessary to review some of the characteristics of this species and general factors affecting its availability in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas.

McLaren's (1958) work has been the standard reference in respect to ringed seal distribution in the eastern Arctic. The ringed seal populations are presently being re-assessed by the Department of Fisheries but current work has been concentrated in the Cumberland Sound and Broughton Island areas. McLaren (1958, p.28, 29) gave estimates of ringed seal populations amounting to 66,300 in the Pond Inlet area (Navy Board Inlet to Cape Adair) excluding outer Bylot Island and 43,900 seals for the Admiralty Inlet, Arctic Bay area (Cape Crauford to Cape Charles Yorke, south to Bell Bay and Berlinguet Inlet). On a maximum yield basis of 8 per cent, McLaren estimated the zones could support an annual harvest of 5,300 ringed seals for the Pond Inlet area and 3,150 ringed seals for the Arctic Bay area. Within the zones, hunting by Eskimos is concentrated in certain areas. Increased concentration of hunting zones is occurring due to a reduction in camps and greater settlement orientation, but this may be offset by an improved economy (increase in ski-doo's and boats and motors) and increased mobility of hunters.

The ringed seals of the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay areas feed primarily on kingut and ouden. The males mature at seven years and the females in the sixth and seventh years.¹ Both the Pond Inlet area and the Admiralty Inlet, Arctic Bay areas provide a wide variation in habitat conditions suitable for large populations of ringed seals.

¹ McLaren reports a lag of about a year after the first ovulation in ringed seals. McLaren (1968, p.59) listed the following average length and weight of seals in north Baffin Island waters: 46 inches, 118 lbs.

FIGURE 5 - Traplines, Admiralty Inlet Area, 1966-1967



Habitat conditions vary widely within the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay zones. The fiorded Buchan Gulf area, the Eclipse Sound and Milne Inlet areas and Moffet Inlet are most favourable in terms of pup production due to stable ice conditions. The unindented coastline from Cape Macculloch to Cape Coutts on the east and the west side of Admiralty Inlet are much less favourable due to exposure to wind and current and less stable ice conditions. There is a general summer and autumn movement of immature seals to less complex coastal areas, and these form a large percentage of the take by Eskimos in the Button Point floe-edge hunting zone and the floe-edge between Cape Crauford and Cape Charles Yorke. Eskimos in the Pond Inlet area hunt the lower half of Milne Inlet, Tay Sound and Paquet Bay for older adult seal in winter and spring to provide dog food. The south Bylot coast from east to west is a source of young adult seals in winter.

The camps of Qaornak, Nadlua, Kuktujok and Ipiarjuk in the Pond Inlet area offer strategic advantages in harvesting immature seals during the summer and autumn as they move through Eclipse Sound to Pond Inlet or Navy Board Inlet.

TABLE 29 - Variations in Length and Weight of Ringed Seals

Location	Length	Weight
Offshore in summer	45 inches	121 lbs.
Open-water in winter floe-edge	42 inches	87 lbs.
Heads of bays in winter, tide rips and on spring ice	50.5 inches	149.5 lbs.
Ice nearer floe-edge late spring	45 inches	120 lbs.

In the Pond Inlet area, a few pups are born in late March with the maximum birth period occurring during the first half of April (April 9 - April 16). Weaning is completed by break-up. McLaren (1958, p.8) states that 10 per cent of ringed seals produce a pup at six years, fifty per cent at seven and seventy-five per cent at eight years.

The following data was obtained in 1967 for ringed seals:

TABLE 30 - Measurement of Length and Circumference of Ringed Seals
Taken in the Pond Inlet Area, 1967

Sex	Date	Location	Length nose to tip of tail	Circumference just below front flipper
M	July 10, 1967	Near Button Point on ice	45 inches	34½ inches
M	July 8, 1967	At floe-edge	37½ "	29 "
F	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	42 "	31 "
F	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	40½ "	32 "
M	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	45 "	35 "
M	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	52½ "	39 "

(Continued)

TABLE 30 - (continued)

Sex	Date	Location	Length nose to tip of tail	Circumference just below front flipper
F	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	39 inches	30 inches
M	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	47½ "	35 "
M (harp seal)	July 8, 1967	At floe-edge	66 "	44 "
F	July 9, 1967	In front of Pond Inlet	47 "	34 "
M	July 9, 1967	Ice-crack near Pond	49½ "	34 "
F	July 10, 1967	At floe-edge	44 "	37½ "
M	July 11, 1967	At floe-edge	41½ "	35½ "
M	July 11, 1967	At floe-edge	39½ "	30½ "
F	July 11, 1967	At floe-edge	39 "	31 "
F	July 13, 1967	Between Button Point and Ipiarjuk	41 "	38 "
F	Aug. 20, 1967	Eclipse Sound	41½ "	31 "
M	Aug. 19, 1967	Eclipse Sound	44½ "	35 "
M	Aug. 21, 1967	Eclipse Sound	51½ "	43½ "
F	Aug. 1967	Eclipse Sound	52½ "	44 "
F	Aug. 22, 1967	Qaornak, Eclipse Sound	44½ "	34 "
F	Aug. 23, 1967	Eclipse Sound	46 "	35 "
M	Aug. 24, 1967	Eclipse Sound	47½ "	35 "
F	Aug. 24, 1967	Eclipse Sound	55 "	47 "
M	Aug. 25, 1967	Eclipse Sound	52½ "	42½ "
F	Aug. 26, 1967	Eclipse Sound	46 "	38 "

*According to measurement instructions supplied by Arctic District, Department of Fisheries.

The following information on annual kills was obtained from forty-seven individual hunters in the Pond Inlet area. Some hunters had records over a three year period while others were able to supply evidence for only a year. Gaps in table below indicate inability to remember kill totals rather than lack of kills.

TABLE 31 - Ringed Seal Kill by Individual Hunters, Pond Inlet Area, 1965-1966, 1966-1967

H	1965-1966	1966-1967	H	1965-1966	1966-1967
X	64	5	X	60	-
X	40	19	X	36	-
X	12	4	X	-	125
X	104	108	X	100	-
X	25	-	X	110	-
X	88	40	X	-	24
X	26	16	X	70	-
X	-	30	X	99	-

X - individual hunter

(Continued)

TABLE 31 - (continued)

H	1965-1966	1966-1967	H	1965-1966	1966-1967
X	54	75	X	-	53
X	120	-	X	-	187
X	110	-	X	-	60
X	120	59	X	36	-
X	75	56	X	79	212
X	90	-	X	-	82
X	250	50	X	-	35
X	50	-	X	-	25
X	26	16	X	-	45
X	4	2	X	10	-
X	35	-	X	45	60
X	90	82	X	-	45
X	35	-	X	50	60
X	45	22	X	52	60
X	60	-	X	20	87
X	53	-	X	40	35
			X	3	44

X - individual hunter

Chapter II - Availability of Major Food Species and Hunting Methodologies

The Maulirtuk Method

The maulirtuk method or hunting at the aglus, begins in late October or early November and continues to April. The contemporary method consists of rifle or harpoon hunting or a combination of both, the harpoon being used to retain a shot seal. This method is best employed on new ice, or ice which remains clear of snow. The elaborate techniques which existed prior to the use of the rifle have disappeared. Balikci (1964), noted this among the Pelly Bay Eskimos. Essentially the maulirtuk methods works best where hunters group together to occupy a number of seal holes over a small area. In the Pond Inlet area, camp Eskimos hunt as a group. A conflict occurs where boys of over 10 years are enrolled in school since they played a role in maulirtuk hunting through occupying seal holes.¹ In November and December, the Nadlua group hunt by the maulirtuk method off Low Point and east of Canada Point. From January to April, they make hunts up Navy Board Inlet to a zone north of the Wollaston Islands. An area of new ice is continually being formed along the southern area of Lancaster Sound.

The Nunasiaq Eskimos maulirtuk hunted on the west side of Navy Board Inlet in November and December. They also used a zone between Tay Bay and Canada Point. Like the Nadlua people, they made seal hunting trips north from January to April to hunt in the vicinity of Bluff Head and the Wollaston Islands. The Qimmivik and Aulatsivik Eskimos hunted north of Curry and Emmerson Island on daily and extended hunting trips. The Qaormukmiut use the zone of Eclipse Sound in November and early December. The Milne Inlet, Koluktoo Bay are known to be zones of soft snow. Similarly, the Paquet Bay and Tay Sound areas are known as zones of heavy snow which makes maulirtuk hunting difficult. The Pond Inlet and Kuktujok Eskimos hunt the northeastern end of Eclipse Sound and the western part of Pond Inlet until the snow covers the ice.

The ice-cracks formed by the tides are of major importance. These form in the same location each year opening up twice monthly with tides. They are a favoured location for maulirtuk hunting and seal netting within the Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet areas, due to the information of breathing holes by seals in new thin ice. In mid-winter, January to April, the Pond Inlet and Kuktujok Eskimos travel to Button Point for maulirtuk hunting as well as floe-edge hunting.

The Ipiarjuk Eskimos establish large-scale caches in late autumn and early winter and occasionally maulirtuk hunt in the eastern end of Pond Inlet.

The arduous practice of niparte sealing described by Boas (sitting at the seal hole) became obsolete with the introduction of rifles and ammunition and appears to have disappeared in the Pond Inlet area in the late twenties and early thirties. Older men still living in Pond Inlet have practised niparte sealing through sitting at the seal hole, but attest to the severe cold and the patience required in using this method.

The seal net is of importance in the winter economy of the Pond Inlet Eskimos. It is set near the shore in an area of tidal zone beyond the area of rough ice.

¹ In this way, the seal can be taken at one of its air holes

The main zone of seal netting lies within the Pond Inlet Eclipse Sound area, although the Eskimos formerly at Nunasiaq netted at the head of Navy Board Inlet in the vicinity of Adams Island and in the Bluff Head area. Nets were set in the vicinity of Button Point in the winter of 1966-1967. The Kuktujuk Eskimos use the Beloeil Island area for seal netting. They are joined by Pond Inlet Eskimos. The Pond Inlet Eskimos also employ nets south of Pond in the Tuniaqtalik Point area and at the head of Tay Sound. The Nadlua group uses a location five miles south of the camp. The Qaornak Eskimos net in the vicinity of Pisitarfik Island. The Ipiarjuk group net along the south shore of Pond Inlet three miles northwest of Ipiarjuk.

The nets are commonly placed a short distance from camps since they are visited daily or on alternative days to remove seals. The catch varies from one or two seals up to six depending on location and the abundance of seals. The best months for seal netting are November, December and January (the dark periods) but the nets are employed throughout the winter months. Seals are also taken during May, June and July through netting in cracks. Hunting parties set nets while using the maulirtuk method. A seal net lasts two to three years with care. The seal nets are lifted during the period of high tides when the ice is shifting. According to Eskimos informants seal nets were unknown prior to nets being introduced by the R.C.M.P. Of thirty-six hunters in the Pond Inlet area, four had two seal nets, one had three and the remainder had one seal net each.

TABLE 32 - Seal Netting Locations, Pond Inlet Area

Location	Number of Nets	Agency Using Location
1. Beloeil Island (west end)	4	Kuktuajok and Pond Inlet Eskimos
2. Button Point	1	Pond Inlet and Kuktuajok Eskimos on hunting trips to Button Point and floe-edge
3. Cape Graham Moore	1	Pond Inlet and Kuktuajok Eskimos on hunting and trapping trips
4. Between Cape Graham Moore and Button Point	1	" " " "
5. Point due north of Guy's Bight	1	Ipiarjuk Eskimos
6. Point 12 miles west along the coast from Ipiarjuk	2 - 3	" "
7. Black Point	1	Pond Inlet Eskimos
8. Point two miles north of Tuniaqtaalik Point	1	" " "
9. Equeperiaqtaalik Point	2	" " "
10. Southeast corner of Emerson Island, west side	2	Qimmivik Eskimos
11. Frechette Island (west end)	occasional use	" "
12. Tay Sound three locations northern part of Sound	" "	Occasionally used by hunting and trapping parties from Pond and Qimmivik
13. Qorbignauluk Headland at the entrance to Oliver Sound	" "	Occasionally used by hunting and trapping parties from Pond

(Continued)

TABLE 32 - (continued)

Location	Number of Nets	Agency Using Location
14. Jorgenson Cape	occasional use	Formerly used by Aulitsivik and Qimmivik Eskimos
15. Northeast corner of Ragged Island	1	Qaornak Eskimos
16. Alfred Point	3	"
17. Satoot west side entrance Navy Board Inlet	1	"
18. Low Point	1	Nadlua Eskimos
19. Two miles south of Nadlua	2	"
20. Adams Island, Bluff Head area	occasional use	Formerly used by Nunasiaq Eskimos

FIGURE 6 - Location of Ice Cracks, Pond Inlet Area,
Used for Seal Hunting and Netting



FIGURE 7 - Seal Netting Locations, Pond Inlet Area



Aglu Hunting

Aglu hunting for young seals begins in late March and extends through April into early part of May. This method is used in taking both baby seals and the mother using the captured young seal as a lure. There are two favoured areas for aglu hunting. These are the zone extending along the southwest corner of Bylot Island and a zone north of Curry and Emerson Island. Another zone exists between Tay Bay and Canada Point along the east side of Navy Board Inlet. Skill is required in locating the aglus. Some hunters are able to locate the aglus through experience and knowledge of surface conditions in aglu areas while other hunters use dogs. The use of the aglu as a rearing place has been described by a number of authors. In many instances, an attempt is made to take the mother seal as well by using the young seal as a lure. The coats of baby seals are used in a limited way in the production of handicrafts and stuffed baby seals. The aglus are located by sight or alternatively with the aid of a dog. Aglu hunting is a seasonal variation in seal hunting techniques and is a spot activity rather than a full-time activity.

Late Spring Hunting

In spring hunting, the shield is used for approaching seals basking on the ice. This method is commonly employed elsewhere in the eastern Arctic and needs no great elaboration here. The increased use of rifle scopes provides a distinct advantage in accurate shooting from greater distances and eliminates the need for a close approach to place a killing shot in the brain, heart or spine area. The main problem with rifle scopes is the difficulty of keeping them in working order during trips over rough ice. Factors of wind direction, position of the sun, conditions of the snow are important in this type of hunting.

The open approach method by imitating the seal and wriggling across the ice to shooting or harpooning range is a practice which has been largely superseded by the shield method; some older men infrequently use this method.

Open seal hole hunting is employed in the spring from April until the ice is gone when the seal hole has widened and the seal rises well above the water surface at the hole. The rifles and harpoon or the rifle and short hooking pole are used in hunting seals at the air holes. Hunters may close off other holes by leaving a bit of coloured cloth. Older hunters with considerable skill can take seals with the harpoon thrown at some distance.

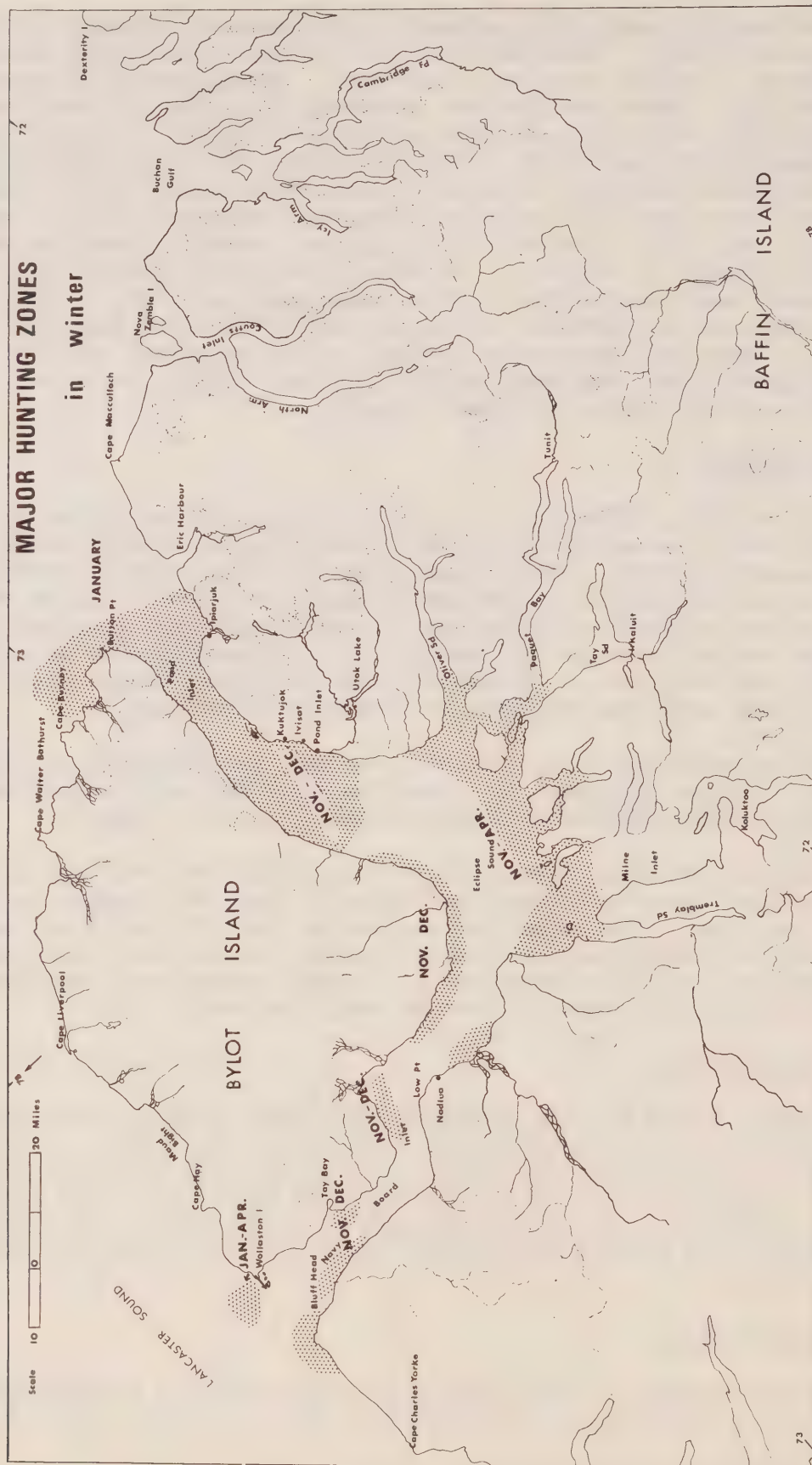
Direct Approach Method

This method is used on some occasions with young seals or seals that have been unexpectedly encountered before the dogteam can be stopped. In the case of young seals, a long drawn out call will cause the seal to become confused and permits a snap shot by a hunter who leaps off the sled. Some unwary mature seals can be taken by a good hunter dropping from the sled. One hunter reported using a harmonica in hunting young seals, the sound distracting the seals until they could be shot.

Summer Hunting Methods

The inshore movement of seals during open-water permits hunting directly from the shore. Young seals are inquisitive and are usually easily taken by

FIGURE 8 - Major Winter Hunting Zone, Ringed Seal, Winter, Pond Inlet Area



this method. The hunter simply shoots the seal and it is retrieved by a small boat pushed off from shore by boys in the camp or the hunter himself. This type of hunting can be productive during the months of August and early September on calm days when seals are inshore. The Eskimos prefer to use a .22 for this method but heavier types of rifles are also used.

Hunting from boats in the summer is perhaps the most wasteful method in terms of the amount of ammunition used and the sinking of many seals. The use of canoes and outboard motors is superior to the whaleboat and trap boats which are more difficult to manoeuvre over the short distances required in retrieving shot seals. Where time is required to retrieve the seal an attempt is made to wound the seal in the forepart of the face. A fatal brain, heart or lung shot means almost instant sinking, whereas a face shot results in the seal surfacing in an attempt to avoid drowning and permits time for the hunter to harpoon it. In the summer hunters draw their canoe or skiff up an ice pan and then shoot seals as they move past. In shallow water, during open-water hunting periods, attempts are made to retrieve seals by using a pole hook. A pole hook is also used in boat hunting in picking up seals which sink beyond the range of harpoon use.

Caching of Seals

Attempts are made to establish caches in the late spring and during the summer to be used in the winter. These are augmented by autumn hunts. Seals in excess of immediate requirements are simply placed in rock caches after being skinned. These are picked up during the winter for use as dog food and caches are a common location for the setting of fox traps. The size of a cache varies depending on immediate food requirements and the take of seals. Even single seals are cached at some distance from the settlement when there are good prospects of obtaining more seals before the return to camp or settlement. Caches which are made in the vicinity of another camp are respected except in times of extreme necessity. Some younger Eskimo hunters utilize caches as they encounter them regardless of ownership. The establishment of caches is an important matter in the camps. There is some evidence that settlement Eskimos show less providence in the matter of establishing caches. They prefer to hunt as necessity forces them to or to go to camps and borrow meat. Use of the seal net offers some insurance for less provident Eskimos.

Losses Through Sinking

Observations of summer hunting patterns in the Pond Inlet area failed to reveal the serious sinkage losses reported from other areas in the eastern Arctic through careless shooting of seals at too great a distance from boats. Ammunition sales are not excessive. The tendency for younger hunters to accompany older men reduces careless hunting. Older hunters exercise some care in hunting during the open-water period and poor hunters are chided for careless shooting. The estimated loss of seals is 20-30 per cent as against other areas where loss of seals has been estimated at 50 per cent. Increased use of rifle scopes permits greater accuracy in hunting seals during the open-water period.

Summer hunting of larger sea mammals such as whales takes place in shallow water and attempts are made to retrieve animals lost in shallow water with hooks.

Plate 1 - Walrus in Pack-ice



Plate 2 - Ringed Seal on Ice, Pond Inlet, July, 1967



The small number of walrus available in the main hunting zone in the summer renders large-scale hunting useless and reduces potential wastage of this resource.

Seal Set Guns

The use of seal set-guns was introduced by an R.C.M.P. officer from Clyde. The range of gun used varied from large calibres such as 30.30 to .22 rifles. The barrels were bored to hold a small harpoon head and shaft. Set over the aglu in the winter, on a simple tripod, the gun is set off by a wire spring. The seal upon being struck is forced downward by the blow but not far enough to be swept away. The sound of the shot can be heard from the camp or settlement and the seal can then be collected from the hole. This practice is in use by a few hunters at Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Igloolik. The seal set-gun is most effective during the dark period. Old guns with worn barrels are commonly used in making seal set-guns. Three older Eskimos were using this method in 1966-1967. The Area Administrator at Pond Inlet reported that eight or nine other hunters were employing this device during 1967-1968.¹ Balikci, A. (1964, p.56) noted the use of seal set-gun in the Pelly Bay area. Manning, T. (1944) noted its use in Wager Bay.

Hunting From the Floe-Edge

Two locations are available for floe-edge hunting. These are the floe-edge east of Button Point and Pond Inlet and the floe-edge at the head of Navy Board Inlet. The practice consists of hunting with rifle and harpoon from the floe-edge. The kill is retrieved with a small skiff, homemade boats or canoes. Small homemade non-waterproof wooden boats are commonly caulked by dipping them in salt water during winter from the floe-edge. The same practice occurs in the Arctic Bay and Igloolik areas. Floe-edge hunting becomes of major importance in late winter and throughout the spring. In June and July, narwhal hunting becomes an important adjunct to seal hunting from the floe-edge of Button Point. Hunting groups camp near the floe-edge on the ice or at Button Point. In late June and during July, settlement Eskimos make trips to this area as family units.

Maximum Substained Yield, Pond Inlet Area

McLaren (1958, p.80) estimated that the maximum substained yield for the Pond Inlet area was 136 bearded seals and 5,300 ringed seals. While game statistics must be viewed with some caution, it appears that the ringed seal is being harvested at a point near its maximum substained yield. According to McLaren's study there were 250 Eskimos living in the Pond Inlet area. The population has increased since that time to 343. Also, there has been an in-movement to the settlement with more intensive hunting over a more restricted area and older Eskimos report that seals are becoming fewer in number. A decrease in the number of dogs will make available larger amounts of seal for human consumption.

Unexploited Zones

The Coutts Inlet and Buchan Gulf zones do not receive any hunting pressure at the present time. This zone has an estimated maximum substained yield of

¹Personal Communication

2,650 ringed seals. Extending resource utilization into this zone on a seasonal basis presents some difficulties. The Eskimos show little interest in this area except for spring caribou hunting and minor amounts of trapping. Current trapping activities extend only to the vicinity of Cape Jameson. During the summer there is an extended area of exposed coastline, with a lack of good shelter. Navigation along this coast in open-water is hazardous for longliners. Canoe travel is risky and canoe hunting necessitates the establishment of caches. The most feasible way of utilizing seals in this area would be through re-occupation of this zone by Eskimo groups. This, however, is unlikely to occur. The Buchan Gulf area has a reputation among Eskimos as an excellent seal area.

The north and northeast coast of Bylot is unexploited except for basking seal and floe-edge seal hunting carried out on a limited scale north from Button Point to Cape Walter Bathurst.

Organized Hunting

With the influx of Eskimos into the settlement, organized hunting during the open-water period would be an advantage. The present community freezer does not provide adequate space for the storage of the returns of organized hunting to be used as human food. The construction of blubber sheds would provide adequate storage of dog food. Depending on the future economy of the settlement, it should be anticipated that more Eskimos will obtain ski-dogs and the dog population will decrease. Seal meat has to be stored away from other foods.

The community trap boat is too small for organized hunting by organized groups from within the community. A longliner would be a distinct advantage within the Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet area. Eskimos who are familiar with the northeast Baffin coast feel that a longliner is not seaworthy enough for navigating the large stretches of open-water in Baffin Bay. As a result it should be anticipated that the Buchan Gulf area will continue to be unexploited.

The Role of Projects Officer

In other Arctic communities it has been customary for the projects officer to be a non-Eskimo. In the Pond Inlet area, we believe that an Eskimo projects officer appointed by the Community Council and working in liaison with the Department would be able to cope with techniques of organized resource harvesting.

TABLE 33 - Total Value of Sealskins Traded at Hudson's Bay Co.,
June 1966 to June 1967, Pond Inlet

Month	Value (dollars)	Month	Value (dollars)
June, 1966	1,245.86	January, 1967	599.00
July	4,036.80	February	869.25
August	2,822.50	March	772.00
September	1,365.55	April	937.70
October	941.70	May	538.00
November	1,624.50	June	94.25
December	848.25		

As can be seen from the table the return from sealskins varied throughout the period. This was due to a number of factors among which were: intensity of hunting, conflict between hunting and work opportunities, fluctuations in the number of sealskins traded, trapping during the winter season and use of available food caches.

Only five bearded seals were turned in during the period; insufficient bearded seals are taken for a surplus to exist beyond local requirements.

Group Hunting By Boat in the Summer

Group hunting is not apparent in the same way that group hunting for walrus is carried out in the Foxe Basin area. There are specific reasons for this. Large walrus herds are not available. There are no extensive shallow tidal areas where group hunting for whales using the drive method are feasible. There are also few large boats in the area which can be used effectively in group hunting. The Aulitsivik and Qarmardjuik Eskimos hunted walrus collectively in August in the early 1940's when these groups owned large boats suitable to reach the hunting grounds at the Wollaston Islands.

Members of a camp, or in the settlement members of a family group or friends, combine forces in hunting seals by the maulirtuk method, in operating seal nets, narwhal hunting and caribou hunting, but these activities do not involve large numbers of people.

Seal Hunting, Arctic Bay Area

The Arctic Bay Eskimos use the harpoon in Admiralty Inlet area proper for winter seal hole hunting. The use of the harpoon is necessary due to the thickness of the ice and the depth to which the harpoon must penetrate in reaching the seal. At the floe-edge area, in the vicinity of Cape Crauford and Cape Joy where new ice forms, the rifle is used rather than the harpoon in taking seals at the breathing holes. The ice is thin, the seal is closer to the surface and there is less likelihood of deflection of the bullet in the water. Similar conditions apply at the top of Navy Board Inlet in the Bluff Head and Wollaston Islands area and at the floe-edge at Button Point.

The maulirtuk method is used in October and November, depending on the thickness of the ice and continues until March. The open seal hole method is used through the spring months after the snow has begun to disappear from the ice and the seal holes become enlarged.

Aglu hunting for young seals occurs during late March and into early April. Utok hunting is of major importance in the spring when seals are basking on the ice. The major zones of maulirtuk sealing are at the entrance to Admiralty Inlet from Cape Joy to Cape Crauford. These zones are hunted by Avartok and Arctic Bay Eskimos. The zone north of Yeoman Island to Levasseur Inlet is used by the Koogalalek and Arctic Bay Eskimos. The Arctic Bay Eskimos also maulirtuk hunt within Adams Sound.

The zones outlined above are also important in open seal hole hunting and basking seal hunting in the spring months.

FIGURE 10 - Major Ice Cracks Important in Winter Sealing

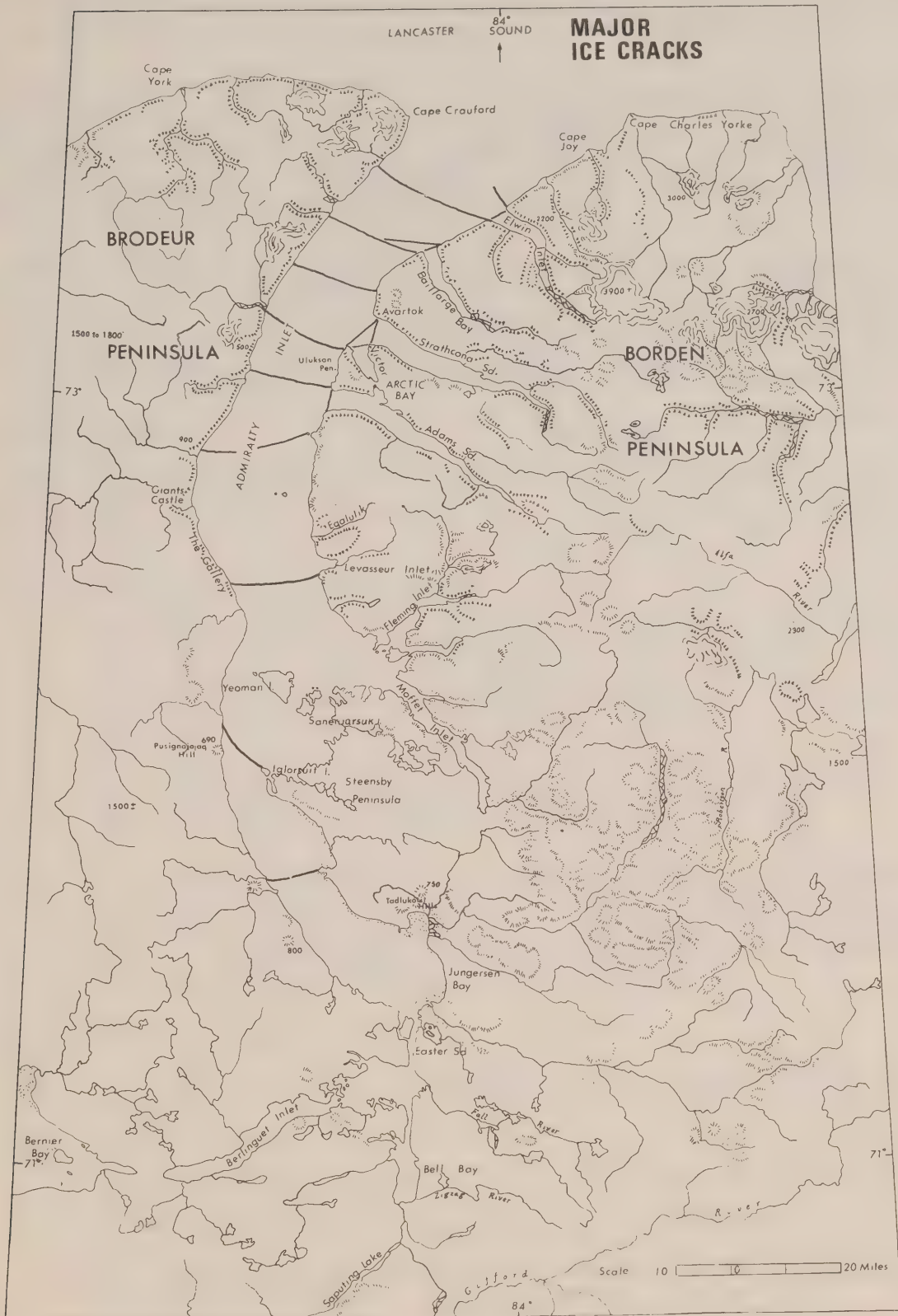
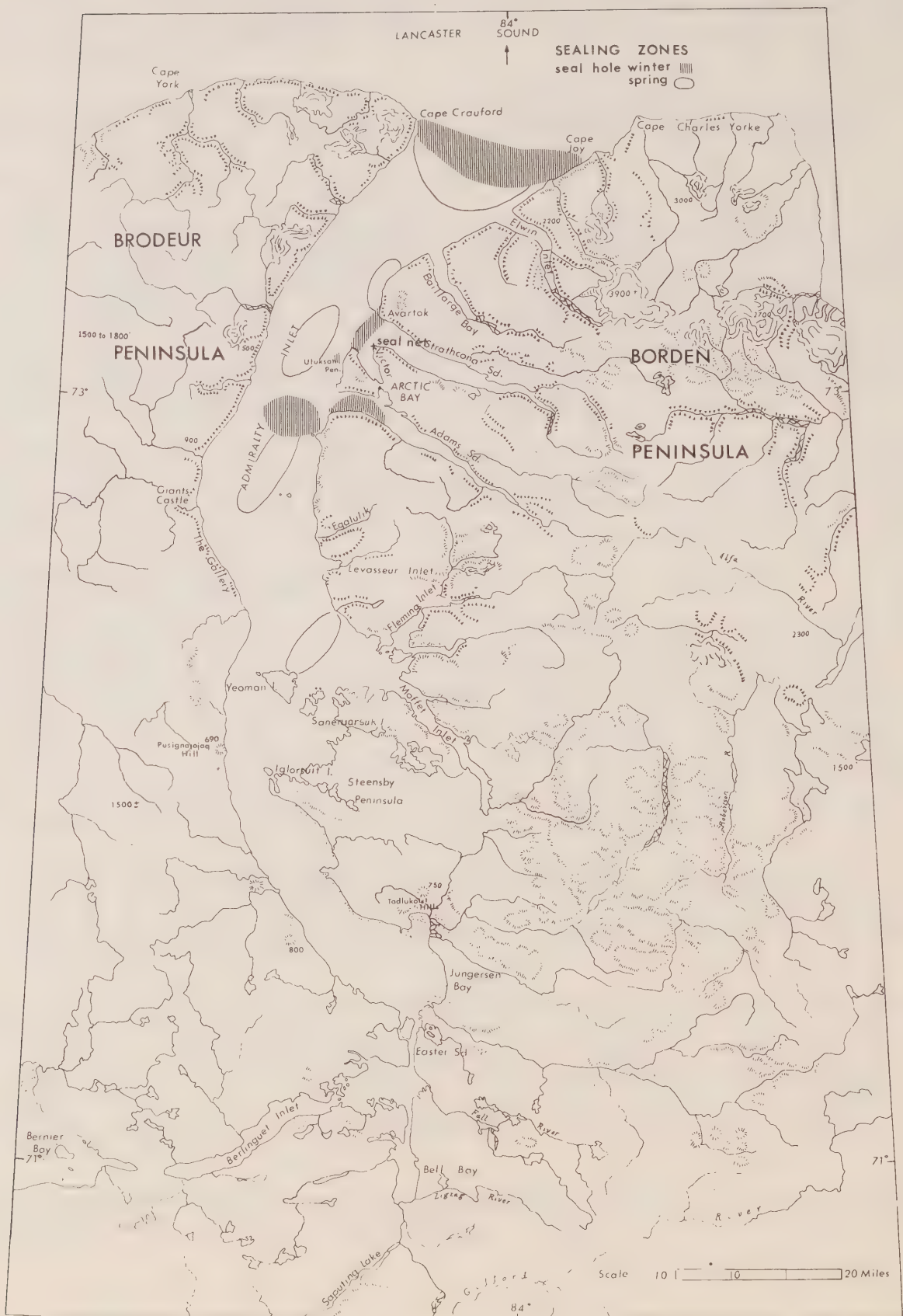


FIGURE 11 - Winter and Spring Sealing Zones, Admiralty Inlet Area



The equipment used in maulirtuk seal hunting consists of a rifle or harpoon, indicator and snowknife or chisel for enlarging the hole to remove the seal. As in the Pond Inlet area, the ice-cracks are important sealing areas and these have been mapped according to information obtained from the Eskimos.

Seal netting has not achieved the importance it presently has in the Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet area. This is due to a number of factors. Eskimos in the Arctic Bay area have used seal nets, but say they are too quickly damaged. It also appears that they are less ready to use this technique and there has been little encouragement to do so. Nets have been used off the east side of the entrance to Victor Bay in the Strathcona Sound area.

One man was reported employing the set-gun method in hunting seals in 1967. In general, the Arctic Bay people appear to have less equipment than those at Pond Inlet and use a somewhat narrower range of techniques in hunting seal. Seal hunting techniques are confined to those commonly employed in maulirtuk, aglu, open seal hole and basking seal hunting and open-water sealing from boats.

Seal Observations

The following count was made by Jean Morrisset during a field trip in late August and early September, 1967, in the Admiralty Inlet area. Ice conditions are also given.

August 21 - Arctic Bay - Stephens Headland

Floating ice in front of Arctic Bay and along the southern shore of Adams Sound. Southwestern corners of Uluksan Peninsula big pieces of ice 300 feet long. No more ice south of Koogalalek. From Egalulik to Stephens Headland water very shallow. At one mile from the shore less than ten feet of water.

Air temperature 37.5 degrees F. at 15.00, light snow and rain.

Air temperature 33 degrees F. at 18.00 hours, sun.

Air temperature 29 degrees F. at 2.00 hours, clear sky.

There was no wind in Adams Sound; 15 miles per hour northeast wind in Admiralty Inlet stopped at night. A party of two men coming back from Pusignajojaq Hill have killed 16 narwhals and 26 ringed seals. A party of four men at Egalulik (seal hunting) sighted 8 ringed seals, 15 harp seals, 1 bearded seal.

August 22 - Stephens Headland - Saneruarsuk Islands

Admiralty Inlet covered with ice from Yeoman Island to Borden Peninsula. The only passage free of ice is at 200 feet from the western shore of the inlet.

Air temperature 32 degrees F. at 08.00; 39 degrees F. at 17.30; overcast, west wind.

Water temperature 28.5 degrees F. - 29.0 degrees F.

Seven hours of canoeing were necessary to get through the ice west of Yeoman Island. 30 ringed seals, 1 bearded seal.

August 23 - Saneruarsuk Islands

Stormy weather, floating ice around the island, impossible to canoe, air temperature 33.5 degrees F; east wind 25 miles per hour; rain.

August 24 - Saneruarsuk Islands - Igludjat Islands

Floating ice - five miles long south of Saneruarsuk, no more ice between Iglorsiut Island and Igludjat Island. Rain, fog, north wind 15 miles per hour; air temperature 33.5 degrees F. Two hundred snow geese on the mainland south of Iglorsiut Island, 44 ringed seals, 3 bearded seals. Ringed seals in great number around the numerous islands north of Jungersen Bay.

August 25 - Igludjat Islands - Saputing River at 10 hours

Air temperature 38 degrees F; at 10 hours overcast; no winds; some ice in Jungersen Bay; 400 degrees F. at 14 hours, 42 degrees F. at 18 hours, 152 ringed seals, 1 bearded seal. 38 ringed seals sighted in one hour north of Jungersen Bay.

August 26, 27 - Saputing River

August 27 - Saputing River - Immerk

Air temperature 42 degrees F; clear sky; no wind; 12 ringed seals.

August 28 - Immerk - small island south of Prudhomme Point

Air temperature 40.5 degrees F; clear sky; no wind; water temperature Immerk 31.5 degrees F., ice across Easter Sound - canoe skidded on the ice. It would have been impossible because of the ice difficulties to get to Bell Bay with a Peterhead during the summer 1967. 49 ringed seals, 12 bearded seals.

There are no more bearded seals around Arctic Bay after mid-August. All the bearded seals were sighted around Momevik lying on the floating ice. They begin to come in this area in July, the ice break off is one month earlier here than in Arctic Bay - and leave in early December. The new ice has already formed for many weeks but there are some spots of open-water around Immerk and Easter Sound where bearded seals are commonly seen in October and November.

August 29 - Prudhomme Point - Saneruarsuk Islands

Air temperature at 11.30; 37 degrees F; overcast; no wind, air temperature at 23.30; 33 degrees F; overcast; no wind, ice all along the western shore of Admiralty Inlet from Momevik to the hill facing Tikgakjuak Point, 84 ringed seals sighted, 6 bearded seals.

August 30 - Saneruarsuk Islands - 10 miles north of Eqaalulik

Air temperature at 09.30; 31.5 degrees F; clear sky; northwest wind 20 miles per hour, 12 ringed seals, 16 harp seals.

Total of seals sighted during 8 days of observation: ringed seals (390) everywhere, but most numerous in Jungersen Bay; bearded seals (24) almost exclusively in western Jungersen Bay between Momevik and Igludjat Islands; harp seals (31) around Peter Richard Islands exclusively between Levasseur Inlet and the entrance of Adams Sound.

Harp Seals, Admiralty Inlet

By late June, the floe-edge has retreated into Admiralty Inlet and extends as a curve from Cape Crauford on the west to just north of Elwin Inlet. In July, the east side of Admiralty Inlet has opened up as far as Strathcona Sound. Harp seals are found throughout the open-water areas.

The harp seals move south along the east coast of Admiralty Inlet following the break-up of the ice. Their main distribution in late July and August lies within a rough triangle joining Peter Richards Island, Moffet Inlet and Yeoman Island. By September, the harp seals are moving northward on their outward movement from Admiralty Inlet and are once again found along the eastern side of Admiralty Inlet in the northeast part of the inlet. In October, harp seals have left Admiralty Inlet with the exception of a few being sighted in the vicinity of Cape Crauford.

Eskimos have reported a movement of some ringed seals south into Admiralty Inlet along the west side in the summer. There is a return movement in September. In winter, there is a continuous line of ringed seal aglus from Adams Island in Navy Board Inlet west and south to Uluksan Peninsula.

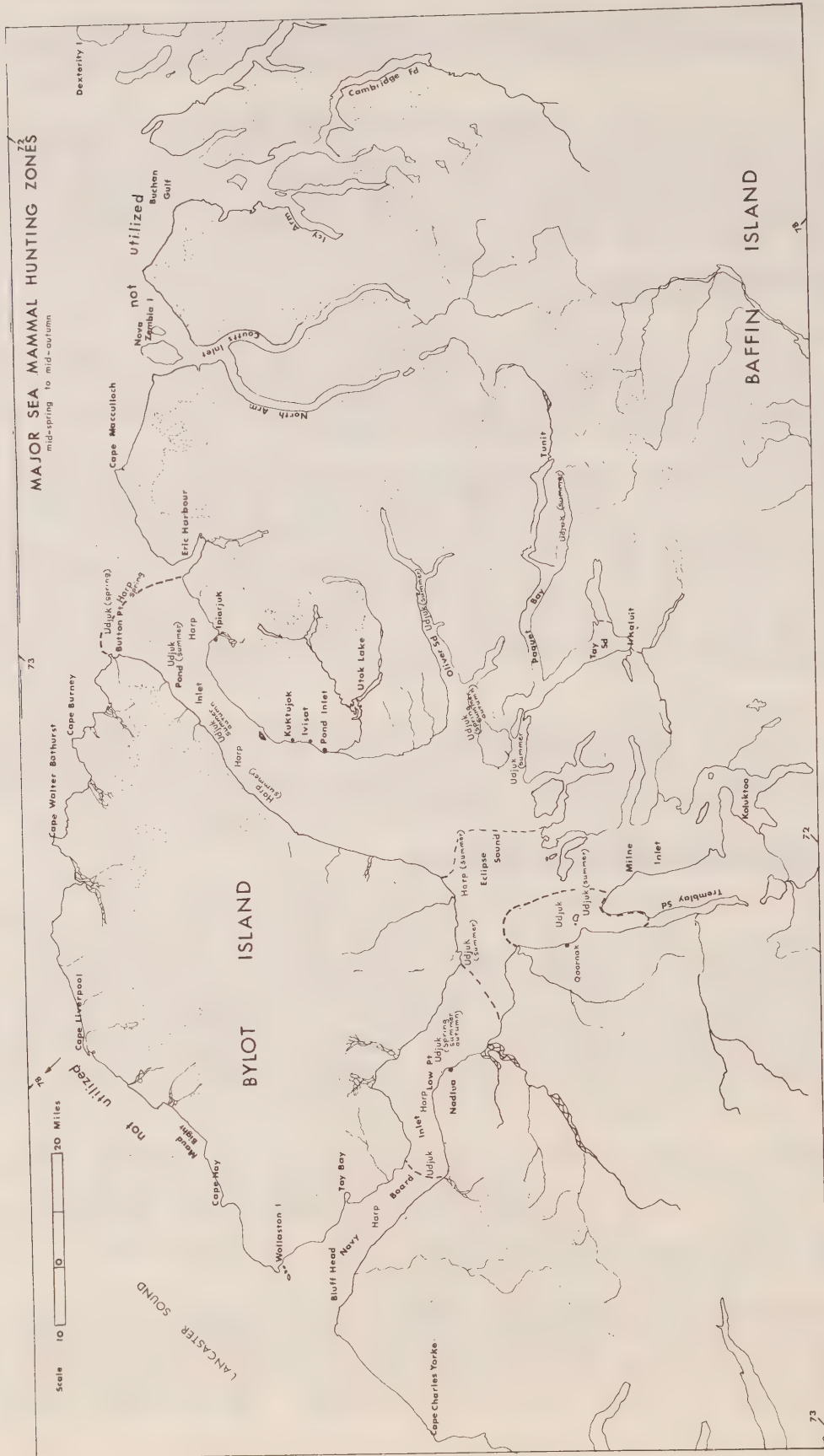
Udjuk or Bearded Seal (*Erignathus barbatus*)

The udjuk or bearded seal is of secondary importance due to its being a seasonal resource. Nadlua camp is a favoured location for taking udjuk as they move down through Navy Board Inlet into Eclipse Sound. Bearded seal are hunted by boat in the months of August and September. The drift of loose ice carries them into the southeastern portion of Eclipse Sound and they are hunted in Oliver Sound and the vicinity of Emmerson Island Eskimos from Pond Inlet. They are also taken on a front extending from the south portion of Bylot Island to Emmerson Island.

The movement of this species is also well known in the Buchan Gulf area and in summer they penetrate deeply into Coutts Inlet and Cambridge Fiord. Summer hunting for bearded seal is important since this is the time to secure new dog-lines and boot soles. The number taken is small and hunter returns indicate that the take is irregular from year to year.

An out migration of bearded seal occurs in late September and October in advance of ice formation. In rare instances udjuk are taken at aglus, but this appears to be straying into set-ice areas or being trapped by freeze-up conditions. Udjuk are taken in the Oliver Sound area in autumn. An occasional udjuk is

FIGURE 12 - Major Sea Mammal Hunting Zones, Pond Inlet Area



taken at Button Point from aglus formed along ice-cracks or in new ice areas during the winter. Whale hide is an alternative material for dog lines, whips and boot soles, but this is not a preferred material. The current harvest of bearded seal seals is well below the maximum substained yield of 136 suggested by McLaren. Bearded seal seals are available primarily during the open-water period (August, September) and for a short interval at freeze-up time. The R.C.M.P. game reports for the late 1950's indicate numbers of bearded seal taken each year were well below maximum substained yield. During this period the Eskimo population was well distributed in camps in the Pond Inlet area. It seems unlikely that increased utilization will result from using the current harvesting methods (boat and outboard motor). The solitary nature of the animal also is a limiting factor in increased utilization. The major location for hunting bearded seal seals is in the vicinity of Nadlua camp in the Navy Board Inlet area.

The Nadlua Eskimos hunt this species over short intervals in August, while it is available on ice pans drifting through Navy Board Inlet. Following the dispersal of ice it is less available and taken by spot hunting. Observation in the Pond Inlet area indicate that bearded seal hunting declines after a short term period of active hunting. This is also co-incidental with ice dispersal and bearded seals being found in open-water rather than on ice pans.

The bearded seal kills of Pond Inlet area Eskimos are listed below. Some hunters were able to supply data for intervals in excess of the years 1965 and 1966, but this has been excluded from the report.

TABLE 34 - Bearded Seal Kills by Individual Hunters for the Years 1964, 1965 and 1966

Hunter	Year and Number Taken			Hunter	Year and Number Taken		
	1964	1965	1966		1964	1965	1966
X	-	-	-	X	-	2	1
X	2	2	2	X	-	2	-
X	-	2	1	X	-	1	-
X	-	-	1	X	-	3	1
X	1	7	1	X	2	1	-
X	-	-	1	X	-	1	1
X	-	-	3	X	-	3	1
X	-	-	1	X	2	-	-
X	-	2	1	X	5	-	-
				X	-	-	1

These figures do not include kill by Nadlua hunters. Three Nadlua hunters reported taking, respectively, 5, 2, 1 bearded seals up until August 25, 1967.

Hooded Seals and Harbour Seals

At rare intervals, the hooded seal (Akpah) is taken in Navy Board Inlet. The harbour seal or Kasigiah is known in the Pond Inlet area, but not in large numbers. A few skins are entered on fur ledgers as ringed seals.

Narwhal (Monodon monocerus)

There has been a long established tradition of narwhal hunting in the Pond Inlet, Eclipse Sound area. Each summer, the animals move into the Pond Inlet, Eclipse Sound area massing at the floe-edge in late June at Button Point and in Navy Board Inlet. Herds follow the break-up penetrating by shore leads and ice-cracks in July into Eclipse Sound until after break-up is completed. The culminating point for this migration is the Milne Inlet and Koluktoo Bay area. An outward movement is completed in the autumn ahead of freeze-up. As mentioned elsewhere in the report, there are certain hunting locations in which narwhal are hunted seasonably.

The following major narwhal hunting areas are listed as follows:

1. Floe-edge off Button Point along a front extending southeast to vicinity of Eric Harbour. - narwhal move along floe-edge and into leads. Here they may be shot and harpooned. Late June to mid-July depending on break-up.
2. Both sides of Pond Inlet and side of Bylot Island, Beloeil Island area. - ice conditions variable due to dispersal of ice. September is ice-free. Hunted by canoe or small boat until mid-August when larger boats can be used.
3. Tuniaqtalik Point to Emmerson Island. - late July and August depending on ice.
4. Northwest side of Curry Island - late July and August whales moving west.
5. Qaornak, Pisitarfik Island - late July and August, whales moving south into Milne Inlet and Tremblay Sound area.
6. Nadlua - mid-July whales following shore lead hunted north of Low Point, mid-August and September, whales hunted vicinity of Nadlua to Nunguvik. Southwest coast of Bylot east of Low Point.
7. Koluktoo Bay, Milne Inlet area. - easily taken by net or boat hunting in August. Heavy ice concentration in Milne Inlet may make hunting access difficult from Eclipse Sound.

Similar movements of narwhal occur in the Coutts Inlet and Buchan Gulf area, but these zones are not being utilized at present.

In 1963, the Arctic Division of the Department of Fisheries began a field program in the Pond Inlet area to accumulate information on narwhal. In 1963, the program was carried out in the Salmon River area and 26 specimens were taken, 22 by nets. In 1964, the field program was moved to the Koluktoo Bay area where 18 animals were taken, the majority being females and calves. No signs were detected to show recent feeding, although stomach contents revealed squid beaks

and cod otoliths. Narwhal are found in both segregated and mixed schools. They vary in length between 13 - 18 feet and have an estimated life span of twenty years. Slipjer estimated that a 3 year interval occurs between successive births. Researchers of the Department of Fisheries estimate that the gestation period is 14 months, in comparison to 13 months for beluga with the breeding season occurring in July. Slipjer estimates a calf potential of six in a normal life span. Males have tusks, while females normally do not have tusks.

Field work in 1963-1964, established an average weight of 1,685 lbs. for 22 adults broken down in the following manner: 750 lbs. of skin and blubber, (45 per cent); 430 lbs. of edible meat, (25 per cent); 505 lbs. of bone and waste, (30 per cent). These figures indicate the value of this animal as a resource in a subsistence economy.

TABLE 35 - Narwhal Take, Pond Inlet Area, 1956 to 1961

Year	No. Taken	Year	No. Taken
1956-1957	93	1961-1962	65
1957-1958	175	1962-1963	115
1958-1959	210	1962-1964	60
1959-1960	52	1964-1965	60
1960-1961	145	1965-1966	52
		1966-1967	40

The narwhal take is primarily influenced by ice conditions in the early part of the season and later by the amount of wind and open-water conditions and the days available for open-water hunting.

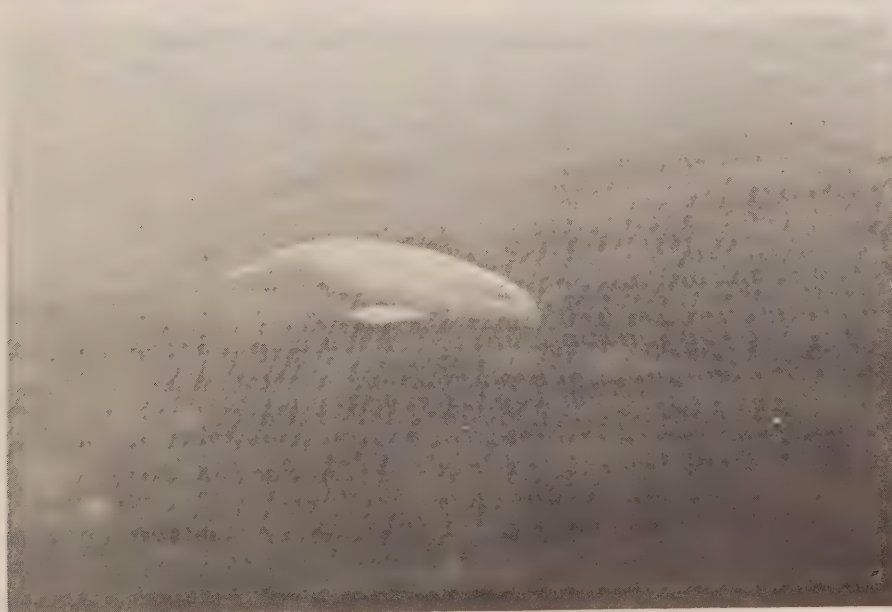


Plate 3 - Baby Narwhal Taken at Nadlua, August, 1967

FIGURE 13 - Narwhal Movements and Main Hunting Zones, Pond Inlet Area

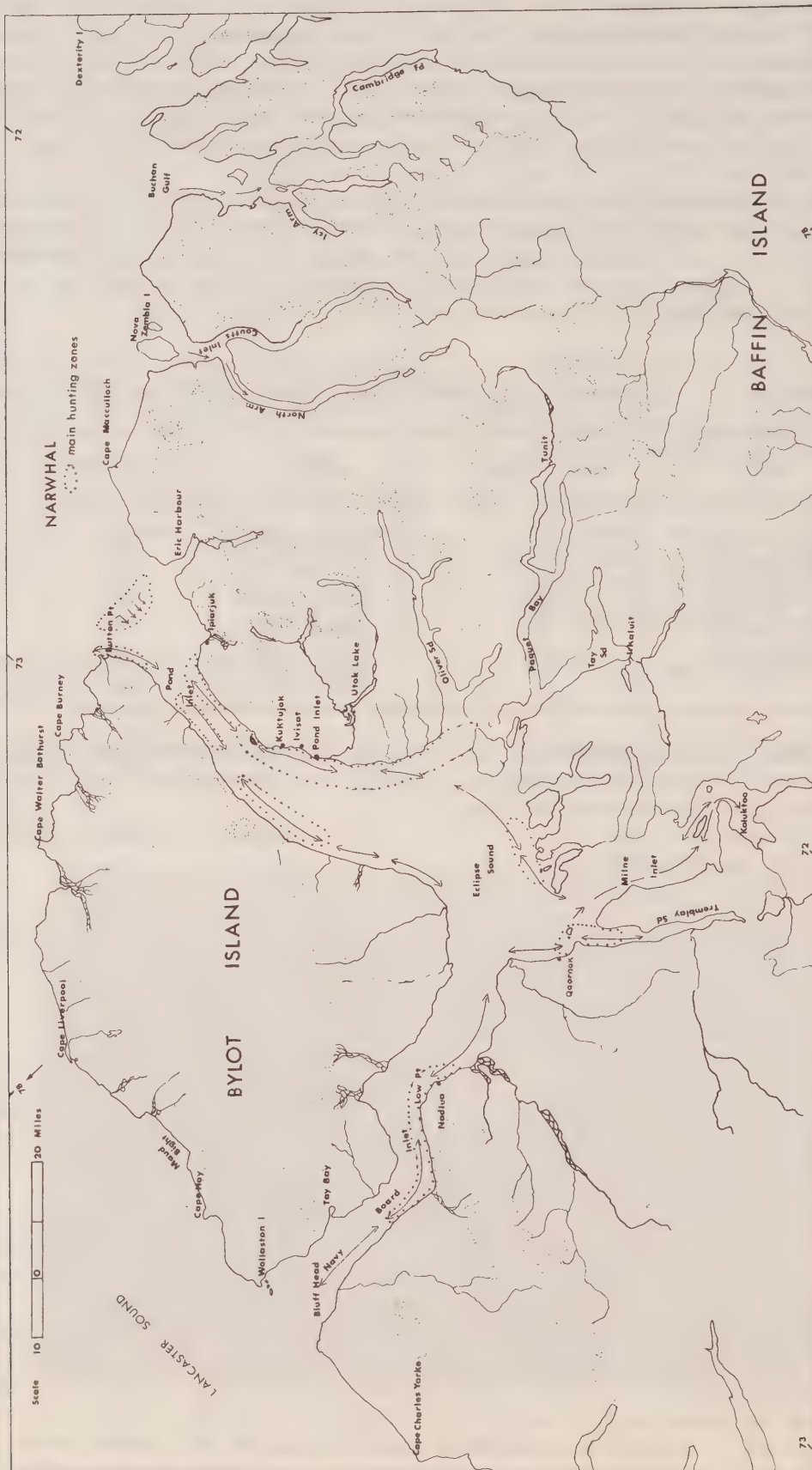




PLATE 4 - Cutting up Narwhal Taken at Nadlua, August, 1967

The following is a list of narwhal kills made by individual hunters. Some hunters take narwhal every year. Others are less successful. The largest kills, based on numbers of hunters, take place at Nadlua, Qaornak and Ipiarjuk closely followed by Kuktujuk.

TABLE 36 - Narwhal Kills by Individual Hunters, 1965-1966

Individual Hunter	1965	1966	Individual Hunter	1965	1966
X	-	3	X	-	1
X	2	5	X	1	-
X	3	1	X	-	3
X	1	-	X	-	17
X	2	2	X	-	9
X	13	9	X	-	7
X	-	2	X	-	5
X	-	4	X	-	8
			X	-	9

The reported narwhal takes of the camps in 1966 was the following: Nadlua, 33; Qaornak, 21; Ipiarjuk, 15; Kuktujuk 6.

Considering the potential amount of dog food available from narwhal hunting, good hunters can establish substantial caches by narwhal hunting in the summer and early autumn. Better than average hunters and those at strategic hunting locations attempt to do this.

In the Pond Inlet area, there has been some experimentation with whale nets. Five whale nets were produced in the winter of 1965-1966 by volunteer labour as a

Community Council project and shared out among the camps, one to each camp with one net remaining in Pond Inlet. The material cost of the nets was \$158.51, each net costing \$31.70. The twine purchased at the Hudson's Bay Company store proved to be too weak to hold narwhals and the narwhal invariably broke through the nets. However, it was reported that the confusion resulting from narwhals getting tangled in the nets afforded hunters an opportunity to shoot them before they broke away.

While productivity could be increased through using proper nets, there is a question of the need for increased productivity arising out of a decline in the need of oil for lamps throughout the area, a decline in the use of whale meat as human food, a decline in the number of sled dogs, the distance from potential markets for specialty foods.

Whale nets have been used extensively in netting white whales for specialty food projects in other Arctic areas notably Whale Cove. A 150 foot whale net, 18 inch nylon mesh (42 medium) has an estimated cost of \$220 at current material and labour costs.

Narwhal ivory has provided the Pond Inlet Eskimos with a source of revenue through both raw and carved ivory. Prior to 1967, the price of narwhal ivory was \$2.00 a pound. In the spring of 1967, there was a rise in price to \$10.00 a pound which promoted considerable enthusiasm for narwhal hunting. Hunting in the leads and ice-cracks in the spring permits the greatest selectivity in hunting. Less opportunity is available in open-water hunting, due to the speed required and the confusion of the chase. The Hudson's Bay Company manager at Pond Inlet reported buying 12 tusks annually prior to 1967. This increased to 22 in 1967. Many tusks show signs of wear or are broken. Small or badly cracked tusks are used for ivory carvings. There is some tourist potential in hunting narwhal since the tusk would provide a trophy not available through beluga hunting.

Beluga (Delphinapterus leucas)

The beluga whale is of minor importance in the local economy. The Pond Inlet Eskimos prefer narwhal muktuk to beluga muktuk.¹ Also, beluga do not carry tusks. One beluga was killed by a Kuktujok hunter in 1966. The Ipiarjuk Eskimos report large numbers of beluga in the Guy's Bight and Eric Harbour area. A few are seen elsewhere in Tremblay and Eclipse Sound. A Qaornak hunter reported seeing a white whale in August, 1967, in Tremblay Sound.

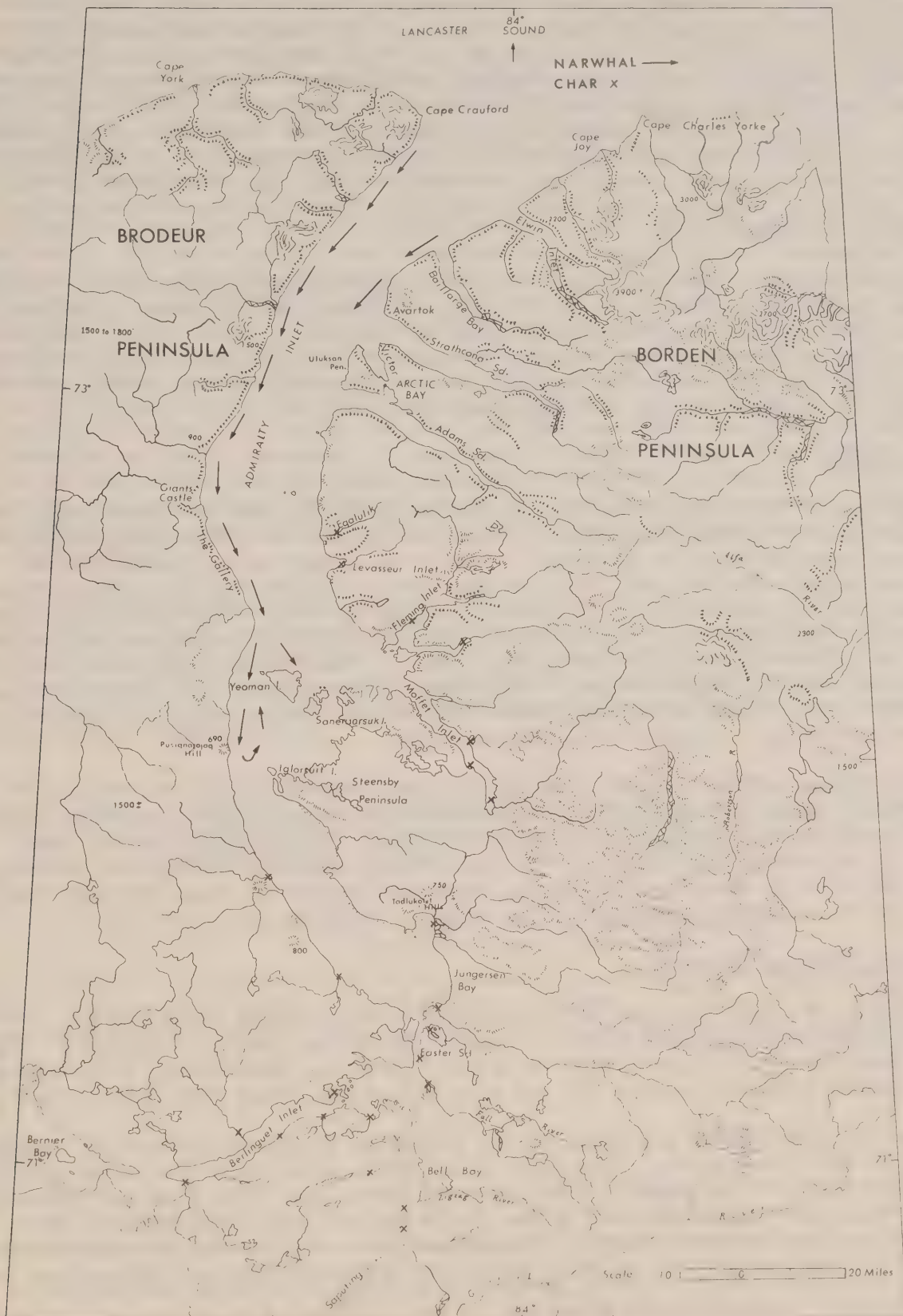
Narwhal, Admiralty Inlet

Narwhal are secondary in importance to ringed seal in the Admiralty Inlet area. The narwhal take is variable from year to year according to ice conditions and the movement of the herds. In some years the take is insignificant, while in others it is large enough to provide adequate stocks of dog food.

By June, narwhal and white whale are massing along the floe-edge in northern Admiralty Inlet along a southward curved line extending from Cape Crauford to Cape Charles Yorke. In July, the ice breaks off in the northern sounds and inlets, Strathcona Sound, Baillarge Bay, Elwin Inlet. The northern extension of ice is from Cape Crauford southwest to Elwin Inlet or Baillarge Bay. Whales can be encountered at the entrances to eastern sounds and inlets, but are more numerous in opening leads across Admiralty Inlet. Between late July and August 20, the

¹ Muktuk - the skin with a thin layer of fat, eaten raw or boiled

FIGURE 14 - Narwhal Movements and Char Fishing Locations, Admiralty Inlet



ice disperses throughout Admiralty Inlet, although it may linger indefinitely in the southern part of the inlet. Narwhal follow the break-off of the ice along the west side of Admiralty Inlet. The eastern side of Admiralty Inlet is relatively barren of narwhal herds. The depth of penetration extends for approximately 140 miles to Iglorsuit Island. The vicinity of Yeoman Island and Pusignajojaq Hill are favoured hunting localities. On August 20, 1967, a hunter hunting from a canoe took 17 narwhals a few miles north of Pusignajojaq Hill. In 1966, a hunter secured eight whales off the northeast tip of Yeoman Island. By September there are still a few narwhal around Yeoman Island but the northward migration has started and can be found from Adams Sound north to Cape Crauford. The migration out of Admiralty Inlet is complete before the formation of rubber ice.

The distances from Arctic Bay to the principal narwhal areas is the following Yeoman Island, 58 miles; Pusignajojaq Hill, 74 miles; Gallery area, 45 miles. These distances are considerable in terms of navigating loose ice by freight or travelling across water areas exposed to wind. During optimal travelling conditions, the trip to Pusignajojaq Hill can be made in one day by freight canoe and 10 H.P. motor carrying food supplies, gasoline, etc.

White Whale

Beluga or white whale are rare in Admiralty Inlet, but are occasionally seen in the vicinity of Baillarge Bay. There are also a few around Strathcona Sound and the coast north of it in August. Only two beluga were reported by the Avartok hunters in 1966 and, only one had been killed during the early part of August, 1967. Extremely large herds of beluga have been reported by Fort Ross and Arctic Bay Eskimos in the Cresswell Bay and Brentford Bay areas on the west side of Prince Regent Inlet during the summer. The European whalers used to hunt this zone for white whales. This zone is not part of the general summer resource area of the Arctic Bay Eskimos due to the lack of adequate boats and the necessity of a long and arduous boat trip.

The whale harvest (narwhal and beluga) could be increased by netting operations along the west side of Admiralty Inlet at strategic locations from mid-August and in September in the Avartok area. Whale nets have not been used by the Arctic Bay Eskimos. A larger boat, whaleboat, longliner or trap boat would be an advantage in placing strategic depots of whale meat and blubber for use in winter trapping.

Walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*)

Walrus frequent the outer limits of the normal hunting areas and are encountered in areas where physical conditions render hunting dangerous. The small numbers of walrus obtained in recent years are "occurrence" kills rather than direct attempts to seek out and take walrus for human food and dog food.

Walrus haul out at the uglit at the Wollaston in the latter part of August when ice has disappeared. The uglit is located on the smallest island which lies closest to Bylot Island. Both harpoon heads and rifle slugs of different types than those normally used by the Arctic Bay or Pond Inlet Eskimos have been taken from walrus secured at the Wollastons. This seems to indicate these animals are migratory and probably reach the Greenland coast. Beluga have been

taken at Resolute carrying rifle slugs of a type not used by Canadian Eskimos.

The uglit at the Wollaston Islands in Navy Board Inlet is accessible in August by large boat, but this is an arduous trip around the southwest coast of Bylot Island. High winds and floating ice can result in delays. No suitable anchorage is available at the uglit and hunters must anchor in Tay Bay, 18 miles south of the uglit. The Qarmardjuik and Nunasiaq Eskimos took walrus in Navy Board Inlet. The Qaornak Eskimos encounter walrus infrequently in the Pitsitarfik area. The group at Qimmivik killed single male walrus in 1964 and 1965 at the western end of Emmerson Island.

Walrus are encountered in the spring months of May and June off the Button Point area. The Ipiarjuk Eskimos reported seeing walrus on only one occasion near Guy's Bight during the summer. There were three females and two calves in the group. The Pond Inlet Eskimos are wary of walrus and show less inclination to hunt them than the Iglulik Eskimos. Ice conditions do not lend themselves to the hazardous ice hunting used by the Iglulik and Hall Beach Eskimos. There is a greater chance of a drift-off of loose thin ice breaking off in the Button Point area with no hope of return. The Pond Inlet Eskimos maintain that walrus kill seals for food and specimens have been secured with seal remains in their stomachs. A large male killed off Navy Board Inlet in August had only clams and the usual shellfish in its stomach, while a large male taken in early August off Bylot Island had nothing in its stomach, although there were scratch marks on the tusks. The Eskimos said these were indications of a seal killer.

Experienced hunters working along the floe-edge in the spring of 1967 were careful to haul their boats well beyond the reach of walrus swimming in the water. The Ipiarjuk hunters saw five walrus in May in the drift ice between Button Point and Ipiarjuk off the floe-edge, but since they were hunting from a small skiff let the animals go by. Another hunter reported seeing two animals and wounded one but did not retrieve it.

Walrus are reported by Eskimos to occur along the north coast of Bylot Island but not between Cape Macculloch and Clyde River. Eskimos occupying the Buchan Gulf area were not equipped for open-sea hunting and stayed in the fiords and, as a result, presumably did not encounter walrus in offshore waters.

TABLE 37 - Walrus Kills as Reported by Individual Hunters,
Pond Inlet Area, 1964-1967

Hunter	1964	1965	1966	1967	H	1964	1965	1966	1967
X	1	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	1 (winter)
X	-	-	-	1	X	1	1	-	-
X	-	2	-	-	X	-	-	-	1
X	1	-	-	-	X	-	-	1 (spring)	-
X	1	-	-	-	X	1	-	-	-
X	-	1	1	-	X	-	1 (spring)	-	-
X	-	-	-	1	X	-	2	-	-

As can be seen from the statistics presented above, walrus are not an important resource in terms of kill due to the small numbers taken. Walrus are

killed with no regularity and are usually taken in the course of seal hunting from Button Point.

Walrus, Admiralty Inlet Area

Walrus infrequently penetrate into Admiralty Inlet during the summer, although Eskimos reported killing two adult males just south of Peter Richards Island in 1966 and a single adult in the same vicinity in the same year. Other single kills have occurred in the zone between Strathcona Sound and Elwin Inlet by Eskimos hunting seal and narwhal. In late July, August and September, some walrus are usually seen in the area between the middle of the Inlet and west shore of Admiralty Inlet north of Yeoman Island. In winter and spring walrus are encountered in loose pack-ice north and east of Cape Crauford. Animals of both sexes are reported as well as young animals. The Eskimos claim that walrus are seal killers and stories are told of kayaks being smashed by hungry walrus in winter.

No walrus were reported killed during the summer of 1967, although one was reported sighted as far south as Immerk in September. Interest in taking walrus has declined. Arctic Bay Eskimos seldom kill them on seal hunts along the floe-edge due to their size and the difficulty involved in handling them. The ringed seal is a much easier prey. No hunting occurs in Lancaster Sound in the summer due to a lack of large boats. An Arctic Bay hunter took two male and two female walrus from Cape Clarence, Somerset Island in 1959 while on an extended spring hunting trip.

Harp Seal (*Phoca groenlandica*)

The harp seal does not form an important resource due to its seasonal availability and the abundance of the more easily taken ringed seal. Harp seals are sighted at the floe-edge off Button Point in June and follow the retreating ice into Pond Inlet and Eclipse Sound in July. There is also movement south in Navy Board Inlet towards Eclipse Sound.

The following information on harp seal kills was obtained from 38 hunters:

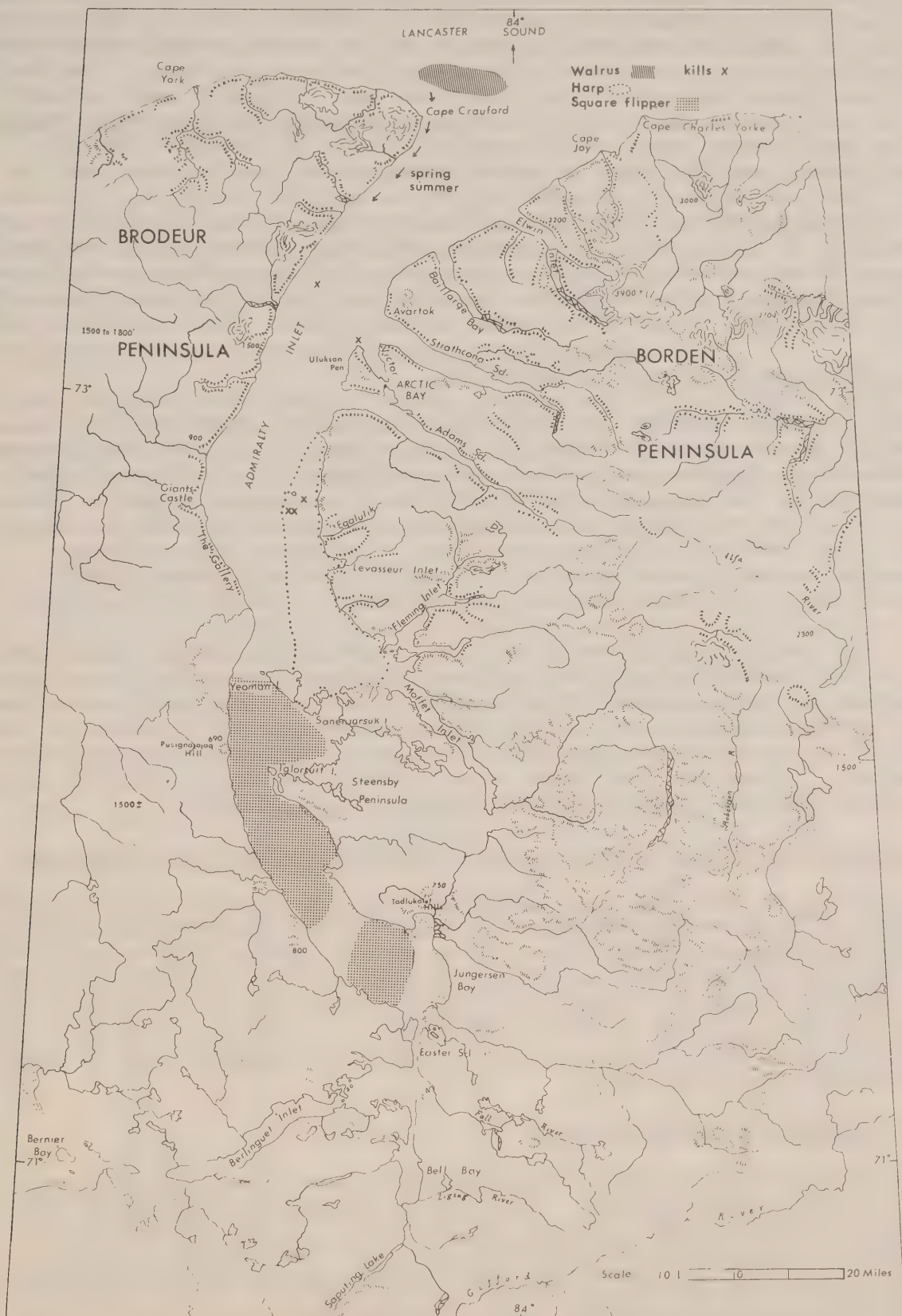
TABLE 38 - Individual Harp Seal Kills, Pond Inlet Area¹

Successful Hunter	No. Taken			Successful Hunter	No. Taken		
	1965	1966	1967		1965	1966	1967
x	3	1	-	x	-	1	-
x	-	2	-	x	-	2	2
x	1	-	-	x	-	1	-
x	2	-	-	x	-	1	-
x	-	1	-				
				Totals	6	9	2

The remaining hunters reported taking no harp seals during the three year period 1965-1967 and inquiries indicated few kills had been made in the Pond Inlet area. A few animals are taken in conjunction with narwhal hunting in June, July and August. On a number of boat hunts, Eskimos were observed to spend little

¹1967 returns up until end of July

FIGURE 15 - Walrus, Harp Seal and Bearded Seal Distribution, Admiralty Inlet



time in hunting harp seals preferring to hunt the slower ringed seal. Harp seals are thin in summer and sink rapidly. Chance kills account for the majority of harp seal kills in the Pond Inlet area. Netting has been suggested as a feasible method for taking harp seals in greater numbers and this could be used in the Pond Inlet area in late August and September in confined areas where the seals move over a restricted area on their outward migration. The Pond Inlet area Eskimos state that they never take harp or bearded seal in short seal nets set offshore in the spring. Netting of harp seals would require the use of deep nets in deep water areas during late August or September when the channels are clear of ice and the animals are migrating out of the area.

Netting projects would appear to be feasible in the Beloeil Island area in September. By this period, ice has dispersed, there is open-water and harp seals are moving out of the Eclipse Sound area. In terms of access this location is close to the settlement. Also, there is a sheltered anchorage for larger boats in the Albert Harbour area between Beloeil Island and Baffin Island.

Greenland Sharks (*Somniosus microcephalus*)

While Greenland sharks were reported to be abundant in the vicinity of all camps few attempts are made to utilize this resource. In 1966, the Industrial Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development made arrangements for testing sales feasibility for this species in Italy. The quoted price for sales of Greenland shark ran to 30 cents a pound, too low a price to meet production and shipping costs. Elsewhere, shark fishing industries have suffered from synthetic production of vitamins (formerly produced from shark liver) and a decline in demand for shark skin and oils.

At the local level, Eskimos have shown little interest in the use of shark meat as dog food. The requirements for dog food are decreasing with a decline in dogteams. There are already signs that current utilization of narwhal and seals is decreasing in respect to overall utilization of the resources. The drying of the shark meat to reduce its toxicity is a deterrent to ready utilization by Eskimos. Greenland sharks also occur in the upper part of Admiralty Inlet. The Eskimos there also make no attempt to take this species.

Greenland Halibut (*Rheinhardtius hipploglossoides*), Eskimos name, Natargnak

Specimens of these fish have been found beside breathing holes of ringed seals in the Eclipse Sound and Pond Inlet area. While aware of it as a food species, Eskimos in the Pond Inlet area do not utilize this fish species. One older Eskimo reported taking natargnak off Mount Herodier and Beloeil Island, while fishing through ice-cracks with lines and hooks baited with halibut meat taken from dead specimens secured at seal holes. The whalers took this species occasionally as a minor food resource. Halibut are commonly taken by longlines and trawling off Newfoundland.

Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*)

Bowhead whales are sighted principally from Button Point, Ipiarjuk and Nadlua in late July and August. The Ipiarjuk Eskimos have manifested the greatest interest in hunting this species by trap boat and have reported increased sightings along the north Baffin coast. The following sightings of Bowhead whales were reported by the camp boss of Ipiarjuk in waters adjacent to the camp:

2 adults, July 29, 1967; 3 one adult, two immatures, August 1, 1967; 4 adults, August 4, 1967; 1 adult between Ipiarjuk and Pond Inlet, August 4, 1967. An immature animal was taken by Kapueevic Eskimos hunting in the Jens Munk Island area in the summer of 1964 in Foxe Basin and caused a great deal of excitement among older Eskimos. The animal was shot while sleeping at the surface.

The Atlantic Killer Whale (*Grampus orca*)

The Atlantic killer whale moves into the Pond Inlet, Eclipse Sound areas in late July and August. The extent of its predation on seal and narwhal stocks is unknown, but Pond Inlet Eskimos have occasionally been able to harvest seals driven onshore by the movement of killer whales in the vicinity. Qaornak Eskimos reported seeing a large male narwhal with two serious flank wounds which they thought had been attacked by killer whales in August, 1967.

Barren-Ground Caribou (*Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*)

There are some variations in weights between Baffin Island and Keewatin mainland caribou. The approximate suggested weight differences is 10 per cent higher weights for Baffin Island caribou. The maritime influences along the east Baffin coast presumably results in better habitat conditions particularly in winter. There also appears to be a higher percentage of adult males in the Baffin Island herds than in those of the Keewatin Mainland.

The Iglulik Eskimos report that the Baffin Island caribou have a longer body length than the Melville Peninsula caribou but are shorter in height. Eskimo hunters who have taken caribou in both the Clyde area and Pond areas report little or no differentiation in specimens of *Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*. Ice conditions in Prince Regent Inlet and Lancaster Sound appear to have been a barrier for intermixing of the species *Rangifer tarandus pearyi* and *Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*. The following table has been included to provide some indication of the weights of caribou.

TABLE 39 - Barren-Ground Caribou Whole Weight Given in Pounds
by Sex and Age Groups²⁴

Months Specimens Collected	Age of Specimens in months	Female				Male			
		Female Min.	Weights Ave.	Sample Max. (lbs)	Sample Size	Weights Min.	Ave.	Max.	Sample Size
April	10	74	85	95	6	92	98	102	3
June	12	108	116	126	7	97	111	127	6
April	22	95	115	138	6	105	125	146	12
June	24	122	138	156	9	132	149	173	5
April	34	-	141	-	1	136	170	190	7
June	36	138	155	178	6	172	176	180	2
April	36 plus	129	167	206	30	159	207	248	37
June	36 plus	148	168	196	23	-	-	-	-
September	36 plus	187	212	249		192	282	353	
November	36 plus	164	202	239		198	225	255	

²⁴Miller, Frank L: Preliminary findings based on sex, age and weight data obtained from 310 barren-ground caribou collected from northern Manitoba, April and November and from District of Keewatin, N.W.T., in June and September, 1966.

Caribou are of secondary importance to sea mammals in the economy of the Pond Inlet area Eskimos. In the historical section of the report, some attention has been paid to caribou hunting activities on north Baffin. The Pond Inlet Eskimos have ceased to make extended inland hunting trips in the summer or to establish summer caribou hunting camps. A preference is shown for quick hunts to the outer limits of the caribou range which are accessible by boat. There are a number of reasons for the decline in summer caribou hunting. The major one is the conflict between ship time and caribou hunting. August and September are important work periods in terms of ship unloading activities and construction projects. These activities have modified the subsistence cycle. The important seasons for hunting caribou are late winter and early spring when daylight and travel conditions are good and in late autumn and early winter after the ice is fit for travel and there is snow on the land. Caribou can be cached in the earth in late August and September for winter use as pergyour. In early summer, the meat usually spoils and becomes eguna or rotten meat.

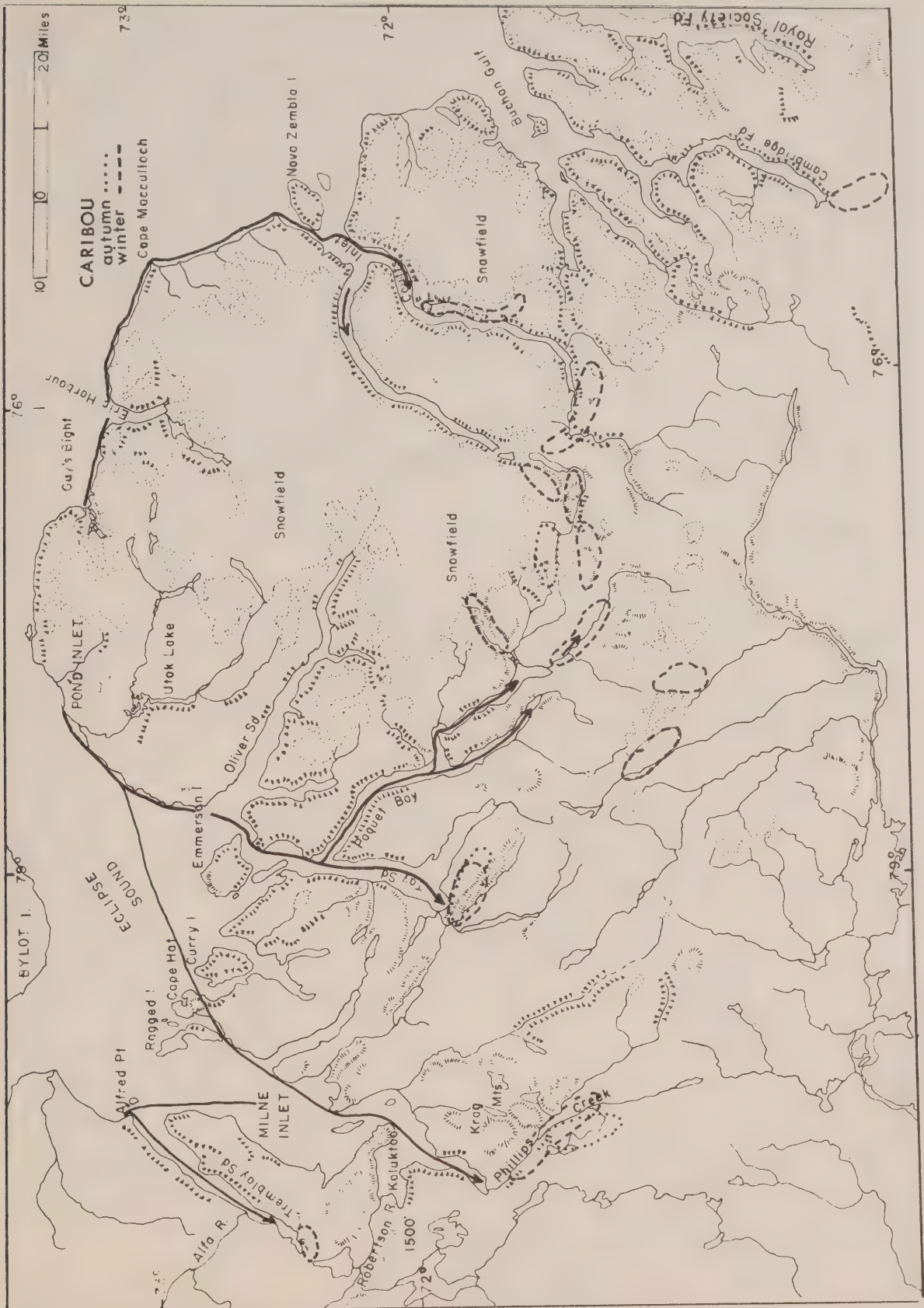


PLATE 5 - Baffin Island Caribou

Main Caribou Hunting Zones

- a) Paquet Bay and Tay Sound area in late winter and early spring, August and September, late autumn and early winter.
- b) Milne Inlet, Phillips Creek area during the same periods.
- c) Buchan Gulf and Royal Society Fiord area, April, becoming of minor importance due to distance.
- d) Inutorfik Lake, hunted only if caribou not available in intermediate zone in spring or winter.
- e) West of Low Point, hunted on a decreasing scale due to scarcity of caribou.

FIGURE 16 - Caribou Distribution, Autumn and Winter, Pond Inlet Area



Sled routes shown on map

FIGURE 17 - Distribution of Caribou, Pond Inlet Area, Spring and Summer

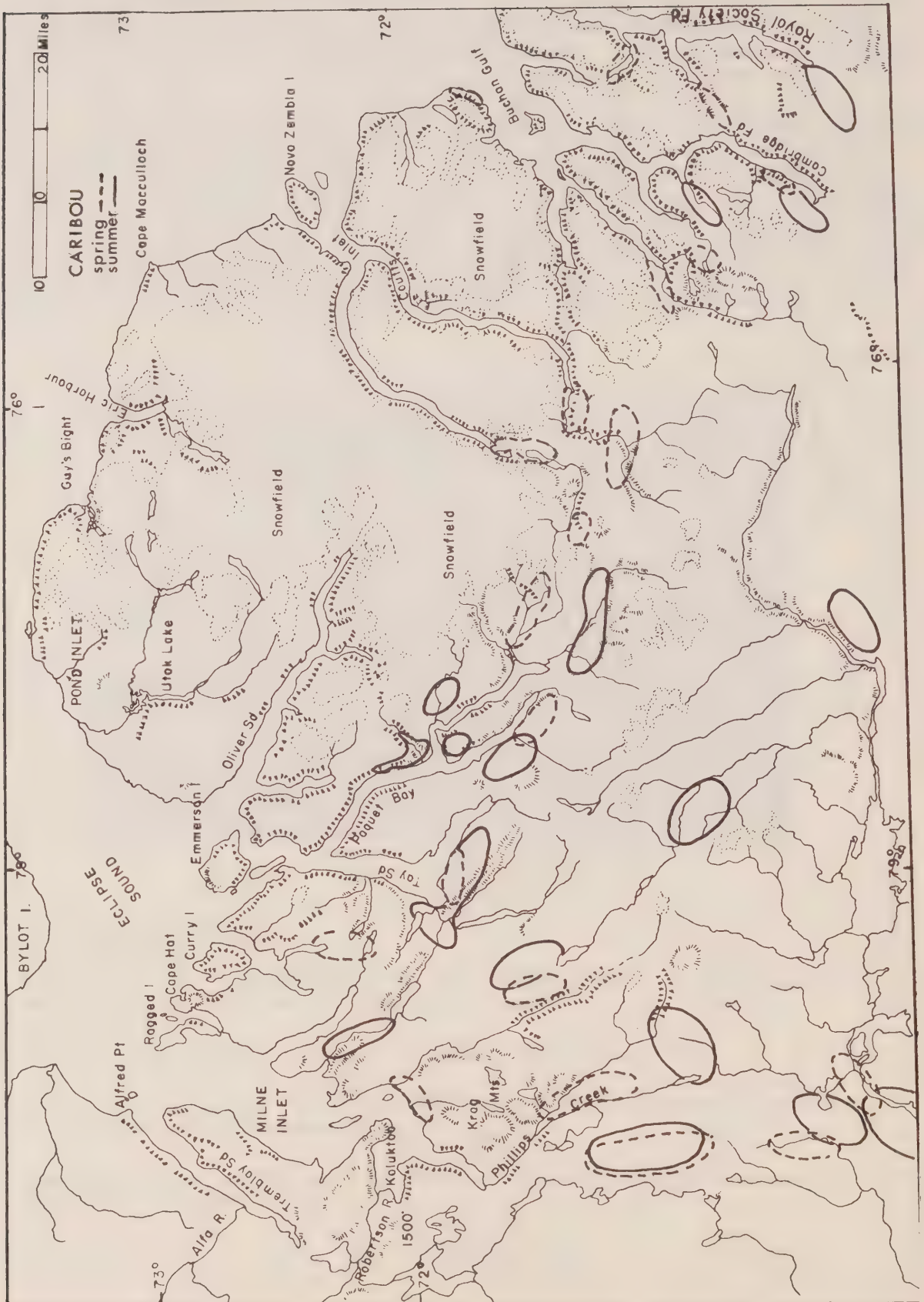
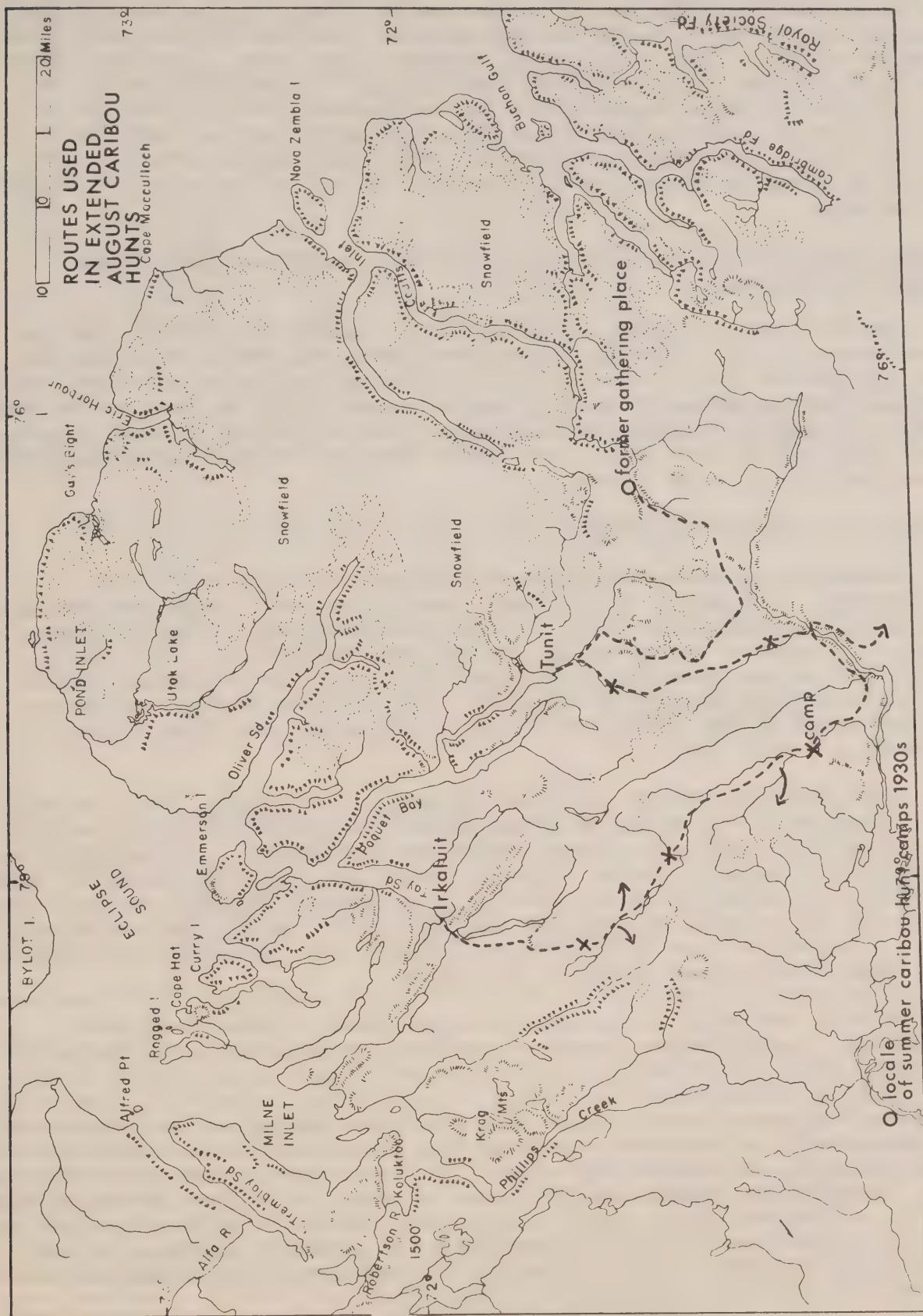


FIGURE 18 - Routes Used in Extended Caribout Hunting Trips, August



The minimum time required for spring caribou hunting trips to these areas is six to eight days to allow for travelling time to reach the hunting grounds. The trips can be extended by bad weather and difficulty in locating caribou. Trips to the Buchan Gulf area are more extended using the coastal route around Cape Macculloch. The normal period required is two weeks. However, there are opportunities for good seal and bear hunting. Skins taken during the spring hunts are used for sleeping skins and deerskin socks. With the construction of improved housing and the provision of heating, there is a decline in the need for sleeping skins. When insufficient summer caribou skins are taken for parkas, the spring skins are clipped to reduce the length of the hair.

Zones Hunted by Other Eskimo Groups in Relation to Hunting Zones of the Pond Inlet Eskimos

Extended hunts by Arctic Bay Eskimos in the spring reach Quartz Lake and even Steensby Inlet. The Iglulik Eskimos hunt in the Grant Suttie Bay, Ege Bay and Steensby Inlet areas in the late winter and spring and on summer boat hunts. They occasionally reach Piling by dogteam (1962) or boat. Nina Bang Lake is the normal northern hunting limit. The Clyde River Eskimos hunt in Ford Fiord and Eglinton Fiord areas inland from the Innugsuin and McBeth Fiord areas east of the Barnes ice-cap.

Contemporary Hunting Techniques

Contemporary hunting techniques are simple and require no detailed elaboration. In periods of declining light in the early winter, caribou can be attracted or held from flight by a low hoarse coughing. This technique can also be used in the spring for hunting yearling caribou. They can be approached in the summer by a round about stalk or a direct approach holding the rifle vertical against the shoulder. In flat open country, caribou can be approached in warm spring weather simply by using a snow block shield mounted on a small sled.

Small herds are usually led by an old cow. In the spring the herds vary from mixed groups to segregated groups of bulls and groups of rising yearlings. In the summer, there is a tendency toward some segregation. Bulls may occur as singles or in small groups. The rut occurs in October and there is a general grouping of animals into mixed herds. In the spring, the bulls are beginning to become fat in April and May, the cows are in calf and are less suitable as meat. Mature bulls are in good condition while cows, yearlings and calves are in poorer condition as a result of the winter.

In June, the caribou cows seek the higher areas to calve where some protection is offered from wolves and are found on hills or upland slopes.

There do appear to be large-scale migration movements over long distances on north Baffin. In the spring, there is a general movement of caribou into coastal areas. A minor spring movement of caribou occurs from east to west in the Paquet Bay, Tay Sound areas, with smaller herds moving into the Milne Inlet area. A summer movement occurs in the area south of Imutorfik Lake. Caribou move from east to west and in winter caribou are found in the Paquet upland area and on the Rowley Drift Plateau. A minor movement from southeast to north-

west occurs in the spring and summer on Borden Peninsula. Caribou appear to be extending their range northward and are occupying old range along the southern edge of Eclipse Sound.

TABLE 40 - Caribou Kills, 1955-1967

Year	No. Killed	Year	No. Killed
1955-1956	105	1961-1962	100
1956-1957	125	1962-1963	150
1957-1958	75	1963-1964	100
1958-1959	124	1964-1965	70
1959-1960	90	1965-1966	90
1960-1961	100	1966-1967	98

The following table is a list of caribou killed by 25 hunters in the Pond Inlet area. As can be seen from the table the kill by individual hunters varies from year to year.

TABLE 41 - Caribou Kill by Individual Hunters During a 3 Year Period

1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967	1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967
1	1	8	11	4	-
5	7	6	-	10	-
-	-	6	12	5 spring	-
-	10	16	3	8	-
6	5	2	-	1	-
-	-	1	5	-	2
12	2 summer	5 spring	4	3	-
10	1	1	3	1	-
4 summer	1 summer	-	2	20	-
-	4 September	-	-	-	2 spring
-	2 summer	10 spring	3	6	1
-	-	10 spring	4 spring	-	-
-	2	3	Total of	twenty-five	Hunters

Conservation of caribou on north Baffin has been stressed by the R.C.M.P. The R.C.M.P. officer-in-charge at Pond Inlet reported that hunters still inform the detachment of proposed caribou hunting areas prior to proceeding on hunting trips. Elsewhere, in the Igloolik and Arctic Bay districts, less attention is paid to conservation and large kills occur in zones where caribou are abundant. Older hunters reported that annual kills of over fifty were not unusual in earlier times when summer caribou hunting camps were established inland and extended inland hunting trips took place in the summer. Three hunters at Pitokerk, Cape Wilson on Melville Peninsula took 90, 75 and 45 caribou respectively in 1964, in addition to large quantities of seal and 10 walrus secured at an uglit in this location. In 1965, two family units from Resolute killed 57 caribou during the summer while camped on southeast Bathurst Island.

Use of Ski-doos

Ski-doos have been effectively used in spring hunts for caribou. In April 1966, two Eskimos, hunting by ski-doo in the Milne Inlet zone killed 12 caribou in the Phillips Creek zone. They made the trip to the hunting ground in a day but returned in two days with their load of meat. One hunter hunted in the Tay Sound area by ski-doo until late June when ice conditions had become poor. The Tay Sound and Paquet Bay areas are popular hunting areas due to smooth ice. Inland, rough ground is a deterrent to ski-doo use. Ski-doo hunters report that six caribou constitute a good load.

In August 1967, two groups of young men, a father and son team and a mixed party of young and older men made hunts into the Tay Sound and Paquet Bay areas. These parties travelled by boat and canoe to Tay Sound and Paquet Bay and then walked inland. The first party in mid-August (August 13) had difficulty navigating a concentration of ice at the mouth of Tay Sound. Three caribou were secured by four men as well as a number of Arctic char taken by shore netting at the bottom of Tay Sound. On the return trip the canoe had to be carried across the ice massed at the entrance to Tay Sound and the char were accidentally left on the ice.

Two hunting parties in the Kanayooktook or western arm of Tay Bay took twelve caribou a week later consisting of ten males and two females in an area six miles inland. A hunting party, consisting of three adult men and a teenage hunter managed to secure three caribou in the upland area along the east arm of Paquet Bay during the same period.

Summer hunting trips of this nature are arduous due to the necessity of walking across uneven or swamp terrain and packing caribou meat down to the boats. The returns of short term caribou hunting expeditions are small if measured on a dollar value basis due to expenditures of gasoline, essential store foods and time expended in hunting and travelling away from the settlement.

Caribou appear to have had a much wider distribution in former times and a regular migration occurred between Baffin Island and Bylot Island. Older Eskimos report caribou could be hunted on southwestern Bylot in the winter and in the spring in the area southeast of Tay Bay and Canada Point. Nadlua, the Eskimo camp location in the Low Point area, is a former crossing location where caribou were taken from kayaks in Navy Board Inlet. Nunasiaq is also reported to have been a crossing zone. Over hunting appears to have been the major factor in reducing the numbers of caribou on Bylot Island. Systematic hunts in the early 1940's on the northern lowland appear to have been the major cause of the disappearance of caribou.

The reported kill of caribou by Eskimos hunting on Bylot Island was the following: 149 caribou in the Cape Liverpool area (1941), 24 caribou in the Bathurst and Possession Bay area (1942), 300 caribou in the Maud Bight area (1943).

One Eskimo reported finding large numbers of dead caribou in the Maud Bight area which may have perished from hunger due to icing on the feeding areas. A single old adult bull was killed by a Pond Inlet hunter in 1957 in the Cape Walter Bathurst area. Two caribou crossed to Bylot from the Guy's Bight area in the winter of 1965-1966, but Eskimos believe they left the island.

Caribou, Admiralty Inlet

There are four main caribou hunting areas: Gifford River, Zigzag and Fall River, Toolookat River (east side of Jungersen Bay), Tadlukotit River (east side of Jungersen Bay).

These are all located in southern Admiralty Inlet and require extended hunting trips following the accumulation of sufficient seal meat for dog food to enable the hunters to reach the caribou grounds. The main periods for caribou hunting are in late October and November after the ice has formed and there is sufficient snow to travel by dogteam. Caribou hunting precedes winter fox trapping activities. After a winter lull due to severe cold, caribou hunting resumes in March, April and May when fox trapping is on the decline and travel conditions are good. This is considered the best period in terms of weather and hunting conditions. The use of pack dogs on inland hunting tours in August and September has ceased. As a result, suitable caribou skins are not available for use as winter clothing and duffle is the main substitute.

There is a minor movement of caribou north from the Tremblay Sound area to east of Strathcona Sound in a northwesterly direction passing between Bellevue Mountain and the Magda snowfields to the valley systems in the vicinity of the snowfields on north Borden. Formerly, the zone between Strathcona Sound and Navy Board Inlet was a popular summer hunting ground for Eskimos with a main hunting camp (twenty-six miles east of Strathcona Sound and thirty-seven miles west of Navy Board Inlet) of Eskimos from Admiralty Inlet and Navy Board Inlet. In the spring of 1965, one caribou was taken seventeen miles east of the eastern end of Strathcona Sound. Four caribou were sighted in the same vicinity in the spring of 1964. Infrequent hunting trips still take place in this area.

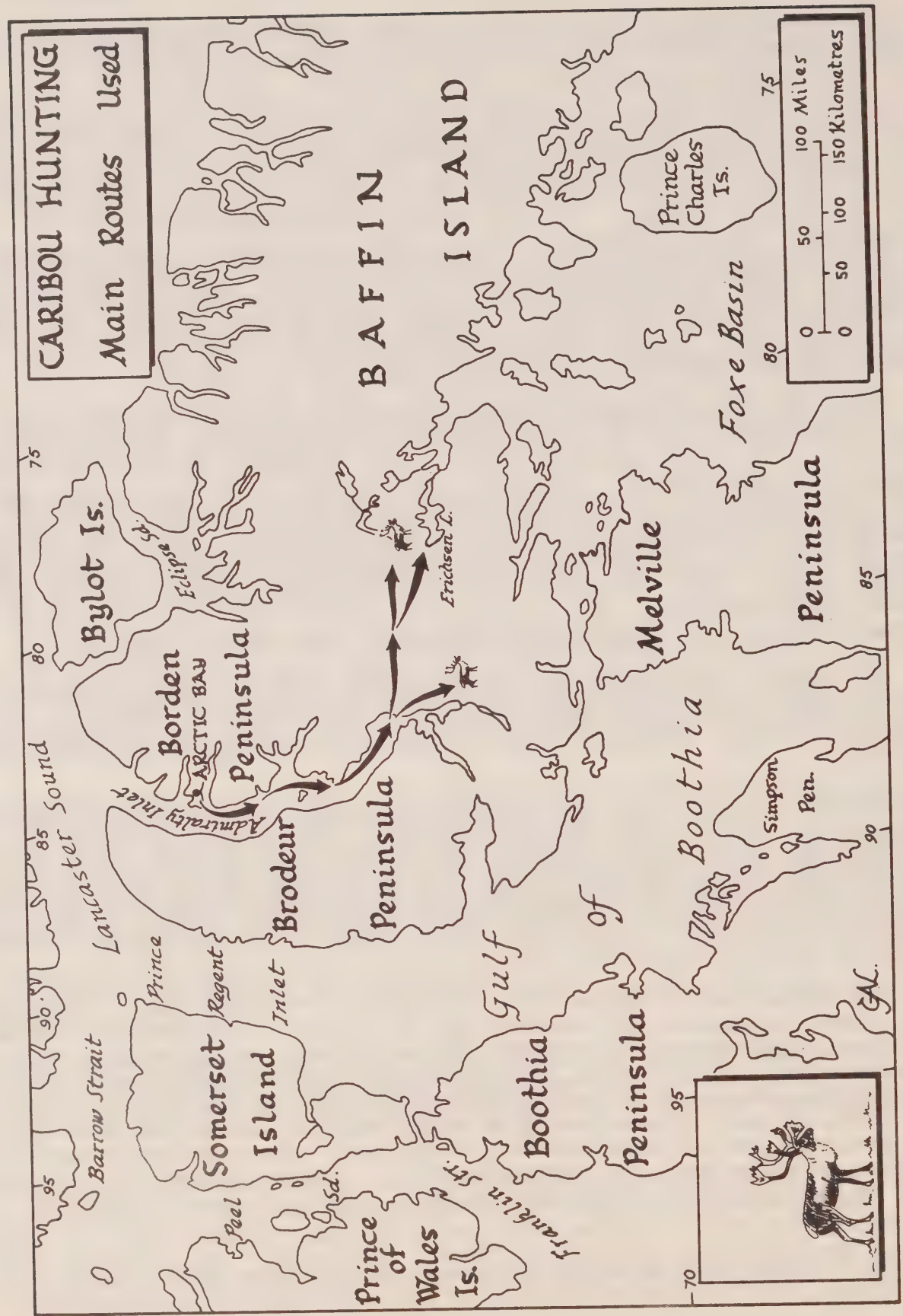
The Eskimos report there is a minor movement of caribou along the upper Gifford River system to the west in the spring and summer and eastward in the autumn and winter. This corresponds to east-west movements in the Inutorfik Lake area.

Groups of hunters leave the Arctic Bay settlement and Avartuk and Koogalalek camps and follow the sea-ice to Jungersen Bay. If no caribou or tracks are sighted, they move eastward to Quartz and Erichsen Lakes where they feel sure of taking caribou. The extent of the trip is dependent on dog food supplies and the number of caribou sighted and killed during the early part of the trip. Some hunters make annual trips while others prefer to seal hunt and do not make an annual trip.

Four hunters made a six-week trip in search of caribou in 1965. The trip took place in mid-March and lasted to the end of April. Two komatiks were used and twenty-eight dogs. The itinerary was as follows: Admiralty Inlet down to Jungersen Bay, Toolookat River, Quartz Lake, Erichsen Lake and Steensby Inlet. Thirty-five caribou were killed mainly around Quartz Lake and Erichsen Lake. Out of this number, fifteen were given to the dogs and the men ate about ten. The remaining meat was brought back to Arctic Bay. The same team of hunters had made a similar trip the previous November. The trip lasted one month and they had not gone further than Quartz Lake. A total of seven caribou were killed.

The distance and time expenditures required in caribou hunting do not justify the returns, but there is the traditional sport and thrill of hunting caribou.

FIGURE 19 - Main Routes for Caribou Hunting by Arctic Bay, Admiralty Inlet Eskimos



The time required for trips to the Quartz, Erichsen Lake area can be compared with that of Pond Inlet hunting trips to Tay Sound or Paquet Bay areas. Travellers between Igloolik and Arctic Bay have always counted on sighting a few caribou near the bend of the Gifford River on the land crossing between Igloolik and Arctic Bay.

Eskimos reported in 1967 that caribou have increased in the Murray Maxwell Hills area. Caribou are reported to very scarce west of Nyboe Fiord and Bell Bay, but a few small herds are reported to move into the Berlinguet Inlet area in September. Caribou were reported in the Steensby Hills area in the winter of 1967-1968. The Community Council with strong recommendations from the teacher decided to leave these caribou in peace in the hopes that they would remain in the area and urged hunters to go further south to their usual hunting grounds.

Eskimos who returned to Arctic Bay in 1967 from Fort Ross, hunted caribou on spring trips to the east coast of Prince of Wales Island, Prescott Island and along the west side of Somerset Island from McClure Bay to Four Rivers Bay. They regularly established a summer hunting camp in the Four Rivers Bay area. The caribou hunted were of the Peary species. Kadlut, a Fort Ross hunter, also took three of the larger barren-ground species east of Reid Point on Boothia Peninsula in August, 1966. There is a spring movement of caribou northward on Prince of Wales Island and Somerset Island and a southward movement in the autumn. Eskimos reported caribou to be abundant on Prince of Wales Island in 1966. Caribou are reported to be absent from the eastern part of Somerset Island due to poor forage conditions.

The general scarcity of caribou on Borden Peninsula and the non-existence of caribou on Brodeur appears to be the main reason for the lack of wolves over most of the zone hunted by the Arctic Bay Eskimos. It is interesting to note that no wolves have been traded at Arctic Bay for a number of years. Wolves, however, are sighted in the Quartz and Erichsen Lake areas where there are large numbers of caribou. Wolves were reported to be increasing in the Pond Inlet area in 1967.

Arctic Hare

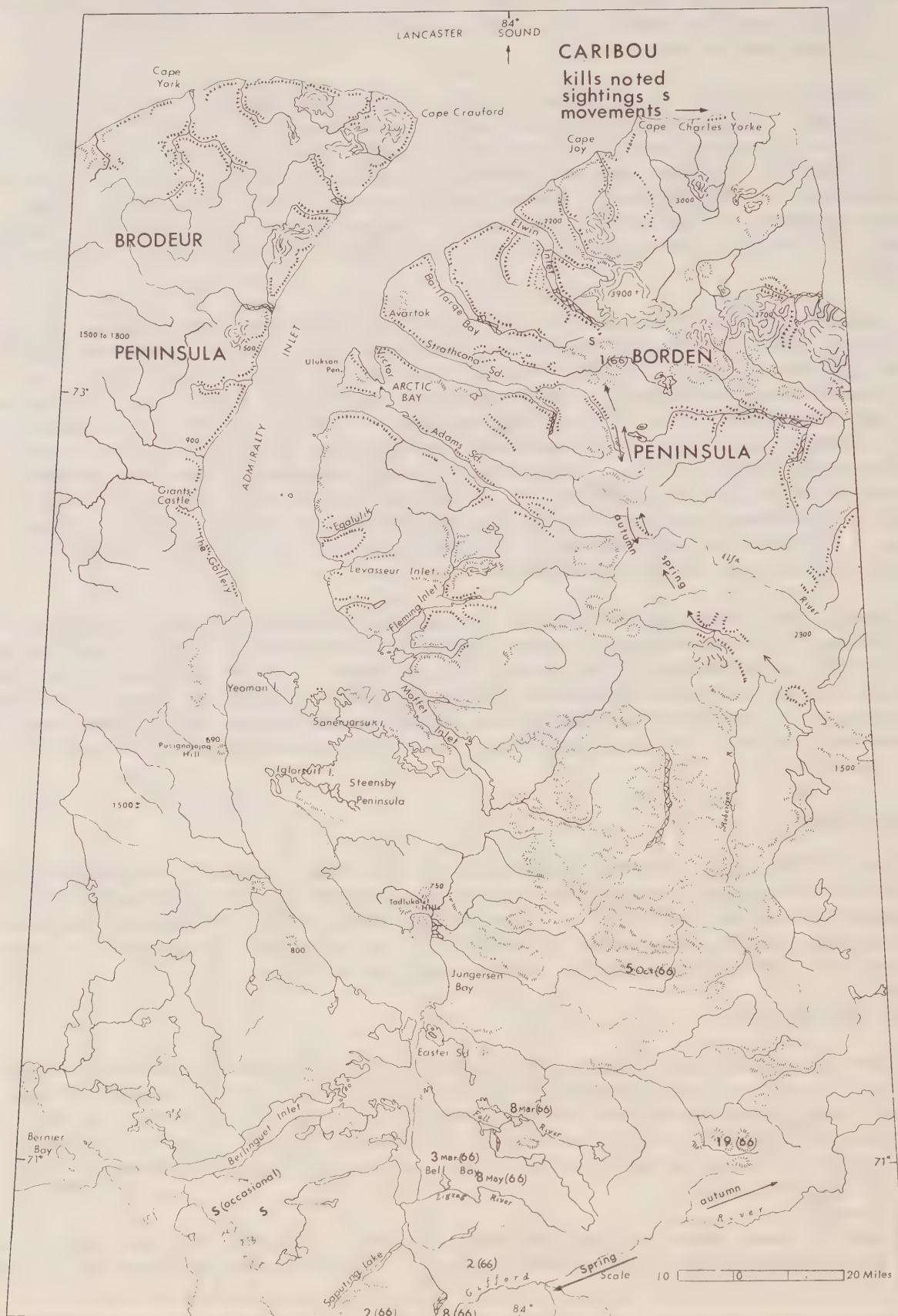
The Moffet Inlet area is reported to be the best locality for Arctic hare; but these animals are encountered along the eastern side of Admiralty Inlet in the numerous sounds and inlets. The number of hare is cyclical in nature but the Eskimos reported the 1966-1967 winter to be excellent in respect to hare numbers and they killed them on winter trapline patrols.

Polar Bear Hunting

The main polar bear hunting zone extends from Cape Walter Bathurst to the Buchan Gulf area with the majority of bear being taken in the floe-edge zone between Cape Walter Bathurst and Cape Macculloch. A few bear are taken in the early winter months in the eastern part of Eclipse Sound. The incidence of bear in this area appears to be the result of ice drift-in the Eclipse Sound area during the summer.

Denning zones exist on the east Baffin coast, along the eastern edge of the Byam Martin mountains and the Pond highland. Eskimos report a den up of female

FIGURE 20 - Caribou Movements, Sightings and Kills, Admiralty Inlet Area



bears in October and a movement from dens in the spring down to the sea-ice. The main killing period is in the spring when travelling conditions east of Pond Inlet have improved.

The following are examples of the seasonal variation in take of polar bears in the Pond Inlet area.

TABLE 42 - Seasonal Variation in Polar Bear Kills, Pond Inlet Area

Month	1957-1958	1966-1967		Month	1957-1958	1966-1967	
		Sex				Sex	
		M.	F.			M.	F.
October	3	-	-	March	1	2	1
November	-	-	-	April	7	2	1
December	-	-	-	May	1	2	3
January	-	2	1	June	-	1	1
February	1	1	3	July	-	-	-
				Totals	13	10	10

The polar bear kill in 1957-1958, consisted of five adult males, five females and three one year olds. The kill in 1966-1967, was evenly balanced between male and female bears and the killing period was well distributed during the winter and spring months. No evidence is available to explain why females were being taken throughout the winter except perhaps a milder winter.

The establishment of quotas in the Northwest Territories resulted in a quota of ten bears being allotted to the Pond Inlet hunters, reducing the 1966-1967 take by one-half. Up until the end of April, only three had been taken, one along the south coast of Bylot in the water prior to freeze-up, and two being taken on the ice at the Baffin front in March, 1967. Occasional kills of polar bears in the Paquet Bay area and the existence of an old stone bear trap at Nunasiataliq suggest the possibility of a land crossing. Between Paquet Bay and the north end of Coutts Inlet. In the Igloolik area, the Eskimos report that polar bear frequently cross overland from Garry Bay to Parry Bay, an extended overland crossing. A polar bear was killed on Hall Lake in the early spring of 1968.

TABLE 43 - Polar Bear Take for Northwest Territories, 1953-1967

Season	No. of Bears	Average Value (dollars)	Season	No. of Bears	Average Value (dollars)
1953-1954	437	22.88	1960-1961	538	60.00
1954-1955	507	28.00	1961-1962	449	54.07
1955-1956	420	25.00	1962-1963	233	55.74
1956-1957	416	25.00	1963-1964	547	68.91
1957-1958	416	25.00	1964-1965	572	128.98
1958-1959	382	70.00	1965-1966	572	129.98
1959-1960	512	55.00	1966-1967	688	126.86

Nunasiataliq is located on the north side of Paquet Bay.

TABLE 44 - Polar Bear Take, Pond Inlet Area, N.W.T., 1956-1967

Year	No. Taken	Year	No. Taken
1956-1957	10	1962-1963	17
1957-1958	13	1963-1964	9
1958-1959	32	1964-1965	2
1959-1960	25	1965-1966	16
1960-1961	5	1966-1967	20
1961-1962	12		

The average price of polar bear in the Pond Inlet area was reported to be \$110.00. This is low in comparison to Resolute where the price has been rising per foot for the past three years and now is \$30-35 per foot. In 1967, the Area Administrator at Pond Inlet persuaded one of the Eskimos at Pond Inlet to ship a skin to Edmonton where he received an advance of \$260.00 from the fur agent.

A random sampling of polar bear takes is included in the report. As can be seen from the information provided by hunters, polar bear hunting is not a major activity and kills are most frequently made while hunting other game or while travelling and either fresh tracks or the animal itself is sighted. Normally, settlement based hunters must travel some distance to reach polar bear hunting areas (Button Point and Navy Board Inlet).

TABLE 45 - Polar Bear Take as Reported by Individual Hunters

Hunter	No. Taken	Year and Season
X	1	1965
X	1	1964 (spring)
X	1	1966 (spring, east of Cape Burney)
X	1	1955
X	1	1960 (off Nadlua)
X	1	1962
X	1	1960
X	2	1963
X	1	1961 (vicinity of Igloolik)
X	1	1958
X	1	1966
X	1	1960
X	1	1966 (spring)
X	2	1967 (spring)
X	1	1951
X	1	1948
X	1	1963 (summer near Pond Inlet)

(Continued)

TABLE 45 - (continued)

Hunter	No. Taken	Year and Season
X	2	1962 (spring)
X	1	1957 (winter)
X	1	1959 (spring)
X	4	1965 (spring)
X	2	1966 (spring)
X	1	1965 (spring)
X	1	1965
X	1	1963
X	1	1963
X	1	1963
X	1	1963 (on ice west of Pond Inlet)
X	2	1961-1962
X	1	1963-1964 (Clyde River area)
X	1	1941-1965
X	1	1967 (east of Button Point)
X	1	1967 (Navy Board Inlet)
X	1	1967 (east of Button Point)
X	1	1967 (" " " ")
X	1	1967 (Navy Board Inlet)
X	1	1966 (Tremblay Sound)
X	1	1966 (Paquet Bay)

Twelve of the hunters interviewed reported they had not taken any polar bear.

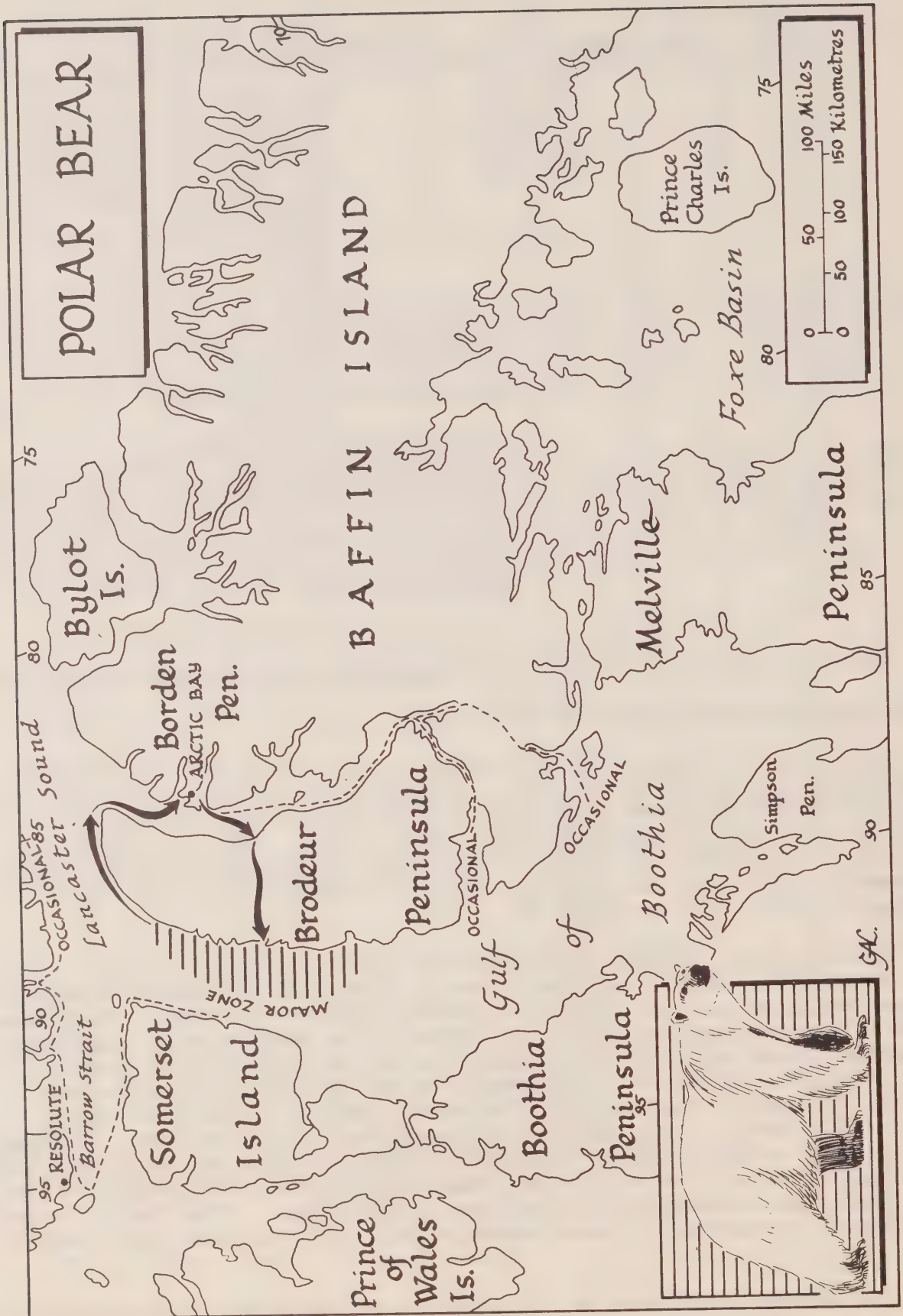
Polar Bear Hunting by the Arctic Bay Eskimos

Polar bear are hunted from mid-February to the end of May, the intensive hunting period being March and April; the best month is April. The bears are mainly found all along the outer shore of Brodeur Peninsula from Lancaster Sound to the Gulf of Boothia via Prince Regent Inlet. They are also very numerous in Peel Sound and Franklin Strait west of Somerset Island and Boothia Peninsula. This last location used to be the hunting area of the Fort Ross Eskimos who have moved to Arctic Bay.

The most common hunting itinerary of the Arctic Bay Eskimos is the following one: from Arctic Bay they go down Admiralty Inlet until they reach Kakheark or Giants Castle at the confluence of an unnamed river and the inlet. They cross Brodeur Peninsula overland following a river valley which runs in a west-east direction----the length of the overland crossing is about fifty-five miles. Once in Prince Regent Inlet, they usually do not go immediately to Somerset Island, but remain a week or so on the eastern section of the Inlet making four or five runs of fifty miles in both north and south directions. If they want to keep on hunting during their return trip to Arctic Bay, they will follow the shore of Brodeur Peninsula along Prince Regent Inlet into Lancaster Sound and finally into Admiralty Inlet and down to Arctic Bay. Such hunting trips represent a six hundred to seven hundred miles journey and take three weeks or more.

If a hunting party, once on the sea-ice in Prince Regent Inlet, decides to

FIGURE 21 - Main Polar Bear Hunting Areas, Arctic Bay Eskimos



get to Fury Point on Somerset Island and return to Arctic Bay via the overland crossing, the trip will not take more than two weeks. As far as the return itinerary is concerned, the decision is always made in Prince Regent Inlet because it depends on the numbers of bear which will have been killed.

For example, a party of two men with two dogteams during the spring of 1967 remained in Prince Regent Inlet for five or six days and killed eight bears, so they decided to go back to Arctic Bay via the "river road" across Brodeur Peninsula. Another party of six men with three komatiks made the whole circuit having been less successful with their hunt in lower Prince Regent Inlet.

There used to be some polar bear in southern Admiralty Inlet approximately twenty years ago, but they seem to have completely disappeared. In 1956, a hunter remained all spring in Easter Sound and went hunting in Bernier Bay area. Some bears can be found there almost at any month of the year due to the occurrence of ice in the bay throughout the summer. During the spring, all hunting parties who have wandered in Bernier Bay these last few years have always killed a polar bear or two. Many bears are found around Crown Prince Frederik Island in the early spring. Arctic Bay Eskimos do not visit this location often, as it is considered to be within the hunting territory of Iglulik people.

Polar bear are seldom seen within sixty or seventy miles of the settlement. In 1967, just one bear was killed in the vicinity of Arctic Bay, close to Strathcona Sound. A hunt always requires a period of ten to fifteen days, a little less if the area visited is limited to the northern coast of Brodeur Peninsula. Borden Peninsula and the outlet of Navy Board Inlet are as close to Arctic Bay as Prince Regent Inlet, but is usually left to the hunters of Pond Inlet.

Muskoxen

There is some evidence that muskoxen have occurred on Baffin Island. A 58 year-old informant reported seeing muskoxen hair on south Bylot Island. A single skull is known to exist southwest of Nadlua. In the Arctic Bay area, an aged informant encountered muskoxen bones while hunting in rugged terrain northeast of Strathcona Sound, and reported his father having seen a single set of tracks south of Cape York coming from the direction of Somerset Island. The slow retreat of glacial ice from northern Baffin Island combined with Eskimo movements presumably prevented occupation of this zone by muskoxen and the finds reported above indicate single occurrences insufficient for perpetuation of the species. Elsewhere, on Baffin Island there is no evidence available to suggest that muskoxen ever effectively occupied portions of the island.

Sik sik (Parry Ground Squirrel)

The sik sik (Parry Ground Squirrel) is totally absent from the area covered in this report, although Iglulik Eskimos reported seeing tracks of this species on the north side of Fury and Hecla Strait in the spring of 1962. Ground squirrels are present on Melville Peninsula west of Hall Lake in Precambrian country.

Wolverine

Wolverine tracks were reported from the Cape Macculloch area in 1967 and a wolverine was taken in the Tuniaqtalik area some years ago. No trap damage by wolverines was reported by Pond Inlet Eskimos in 1967. Elsewhere, the Iglulik Eskimos reported wolverines were plentiful in the Garry Bay area in the early 1960's and rendered trapping difficult.

Fishing

The use of the saputit or fish trap has virtually disappeared in the area. Old saputits are plotted on the enclosed map. The most important saputits in terms of human utilization were the saputits at Irkaluit and those in the Robertson River. At both the Robertson River and Irkaluit it was possible to establish large fish depots or caches for winter use and Eskimos living at Irkaluit were dependent primarily on caribou and fish. The decline in the use of the saputit has resulted primarily from the use of fish nets and the relocation of Eskimos in the settlement some distance from the saputit areas. The Robertson River and Utok Lake are fished principally by the Pond Inlet Eskimos.

The char fishing locations in the Pond Inlet area are listed as follows:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Agency Fishing</u>	<u>Period</u>
Utok Lake	Pond Inlet Eskimos	November, December
Salmon River	" " "	Late July, August
River entering into Guy's Bight	Ipiarjuk Eskimos	July, August
Southwest corner of Tay Bay - Irkaluit	Former Eskimo campsite Saputit used on stream entering Tay Bay	July, August
Two lakes, one west of southwest corner of Tay Bay, the other due west of southwest corner of Tay Bay	Formerly fished in autumn and early winter by Irkaluit Eskimos and Pond Inlet Eskimos	Early winter
Southeast end of Paquet Bay	Former saputit site now fished by caribou hunters using shore nets	August
Cambridge Fiord (Buchan Gulf area)	Former saputit site	August
Robertson River System	Former saputit site used by Eskimos from Tugat and Qaornak Eskimos	August

A saputit is a stone fish trap built on streams to trap fish moving upstream.

Char Fishing Locations (continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Agency Fishing</u>	<u>Period</u>
Alpha River System	Saputit site formerly used by Qaornak and Sartok Eskimos	August
Alfred Point	Qaornak Eskimos	Late July, August shore netting
Braided River System south of Nadua	Nadlua Eskimos	August at river mouth, October and November inland
Frechette Island	Qimmivik Eskimos	August

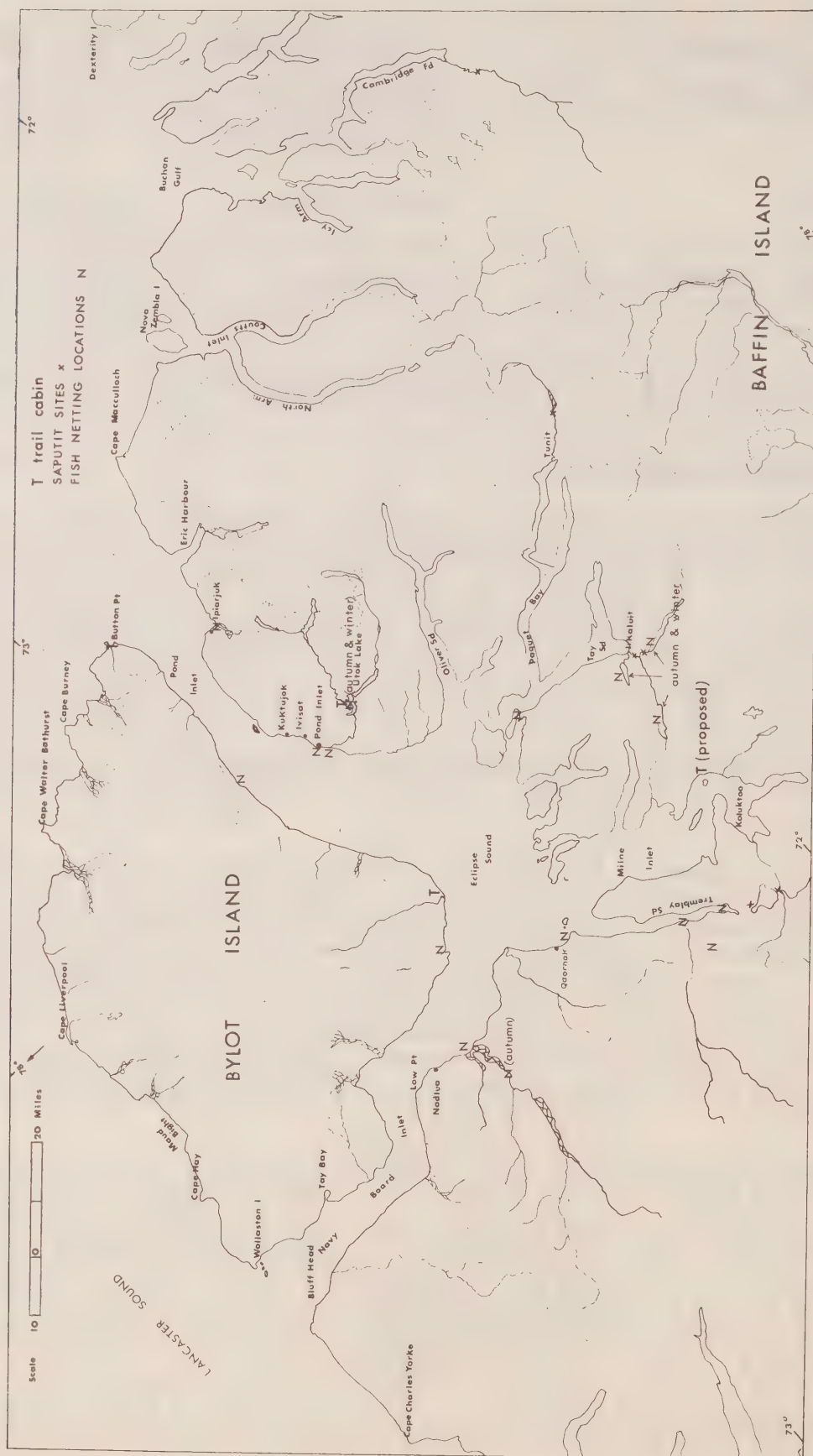
Arctic Char (Salvelinus alpinus)

The anadromous run of Arctic char from Utok Lake reaches the sea during the early part of July and fish can be taken from the open-water area at the mouth of the Salmon River and shore leads. The fish disperse by late July and can be netted in coastal areas depending on ice conditions. In general, Eskimos prefer fishing at the mouth of the Salmon River where current from the river keeps ice from drifting into nets. Anadromous char remain close to shore and range twenty-five miles from their home stream. Their food consists of small fish, crustacea, sculpins, Arctic cod and immature char. Good fishing locations are at the mouth of small streams or rivers where feeding conditions are good. There is a time gap in age of maturity between anadromous and landlocked char. Anadromous char attain 45 cm in 10-13 years compared to an estimated nine years for landlocked char.

The char re-appear at the river mouth between August 10-15, and Eskimos begin shore netting directly in the river mouth and seaward along the beach area. The upstream run occurs over a shorter time interval than the seaward run. The upstream movements at Ikaluit and the Robertson River take place a week to ten days later in normal years. A fishing cabin was erected at the north end of Utok Lake in 1966-1967 as a community development project to enable fishermen to net through the ice at the lake in November, December and January. In the winter of 1967, it was reported that fishing had declined at the north end of the lake. The Salmon River and Utok Lake are heavily fished in comparison to outlying areas.

The Koluktoo and Robertson River area could support a summer fishing program with an initial quota suggested by the Department of Fisheries of 10,000 pounds of char. An airstrip is located at the south end of Koluktoo Bay sixteen miles away from the main fishing area by boat. A project of this nature would call for the erection of a short stay cabin and freezing facilities. The fish could be picked up by the twice monthly scheduled Atlas flights between Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in August and either transported to Pond Inlet or to Resolute. Soapstone miners working in the Bruce Head area could store sufficient ice for use in a summer fishing operation. Aluminium boats and nets could be stored on site. The Department of Fisheries has set a 10,000 pound annual quota for the Robertson River based on topographic maps providing estimates of the river and

FIGURE 22 - Location Trail Cabins, Saputits, Fish Netting Site, Pond Inlet Area



attendant lake system and a potential annual yield of one pound per acre. The Robertson River has only been sporadically fished over short intervals in recent years. No Eskimo camps exist in the vicinity of the river. Ten thousand pounds of char at 65 cents a pound would provide an additional revenue of \$6,500.00. A project of this nature would provide short term employment for two or three men.

Elsewhere, in the Pond Inlet area, small scale community projects would supplement the existing supply of fish. The Tay Sound area is located forty miles from Pond. This zone was fished in the winter of 1967-1968. Fishing was carried out on a lake three miles west of Irkaluik with nets being tended by caribou hunters and trappers working the Tay Sound area. It could also be fished on a project basis in August when boat travel conditions are suitable to tap the run of sea char moving upstream at Irkaluik.

Subsistence Fishing Admiralty Inlet

The major fishing zone in southern Admiralty Inlet (Easter Sound, Berlinguet Inlet and Bell Bay) are not being utilized for more than infrequent fishing expeditions. The major factor is the concentration of Eskimos in camps and the settlement in the northern half of Admiralty Inlet. In June and July, when the seaward runs of Arctic char are taking place in the southern part of the Inlet, the ice acts as a barrier in the central part of Admiralty Inlet. This requires a dogteam trip of short duration or settling in to the Bell Bay area for the summer.

The various traditional fishing locations have been mapped. These are fishing localities for Arctic char resources on the seaward runs in the spring or the upstream movement in early autumn. The most favoured location was, of course, the Saputing River where the saputit was easily operated and the returns were high in a subsistence economy. Fish caches could be established for winter use. Eskimos report the run was so large the saputit had to be checked repeatedly otherwise the mass of fish would force an opening in the saputit and escape. Traditionally the Eskimos have shown much less interest in lake trout as a food resource, although they have reported taking lake trout at various localities.

In terms of commercial fishing, it appears that the southern half of the Admiralty Inlet area would stand limited commercial fishing on a programmed basis.

The deterrent factors are distance to markets, fishing sites and capacity of various runs to sustain commercial fishing, lack of suitable boats, lack of Eskimos camps or settlements, competition between fishing projects and construction programs in the settlement.

The Arctic Bay, Avartok and Koogalalek Eskimos fish at Eqaalulik during the spring and autumn periods. This is secondary activity to spring seal hunting in the summer. No substantial fish caches are established for later use. Occasional fishing trips are made to other locations. In the Jungersen Bay area, caribou hunting can be combined with autumn fishing inland along rivers flowing into Jungersen Bay.

It appears that the only food species of primary importance in terms of subsistence hunting in the Admiralty Inlet area are ringed seals. Caribou

cannot be considered as an economic resource nor can fish under the present subsistence patterns. The fox-seal economy, bolstered by welfare and statutory payments, enable Arctic Bay Eskimos to indulge in less productive activities such as long distance caribou hunts and fishing trips. The distances in reaching the best fishing localities are even more extreme than those for narwhal hunting. For example, the distance from Arctic Bay to Saputing Lake is one hundred and twenty-four miles. The reasons are obvious why fish have become a minor part of the economy.

Snow Geese and Murres, Pond Inlet Area

The concentrations of greater snow geese on southwest Bylot Island for the breeding and nesting season are the most important in terms of utilization. The major periods of human predation are in the spring in June, when geese offer a diet variation, the early nesting period in late June and July when eggs may be gathered, and in mid-August when the birds are flightless and the young are approaching the flight stage. Brant and Canada geese are rare in the Pond Inlet resource area as well as the Arctic Bay area.

The murre cliffs at Cape Graham Moore are visited by groups of hunters during late June and early July when the eggs are available. The geese commence laying eggs on or around June 10th while the murres begin around June 25th. A few adult birds are taken on the nesting site or along the floe-edge with .22 calibre rifles, but the chief interest lies in harvesting eggs. The cliffs are precipitous and a system of ropes have been used in the recent pas to enable eggers to take eggs from the cliff face and lower them to the sea-ice. For the Ipiarjukmiut at Guy's Bight, egging expeditions are family affairs. Hunters from Pond and Kuktujok also tap this resource in conjunction with floe-edge hunting.

Human predation does not appear to be a serious factor in the Pond Inlet area and both snow geese and murres are harvested in small quantities as a seasonal variation. There are no attempts to accumulate birds or eggs for use over extended periods.

Birds form a minor part of the food resource in the Admiralty Inlet area. There are no known major nesting sites for various species where extensive egging can be carried out. Snow geese are known to nest around the eastern part of Strathcona Sound. The Arctic Bay Eskimos harvest a few eider ducks and some geese. Ptarmigan are also hunted.

Chapter III - Current Status of the Non-renewable Resource Base

Coal deposits of the Tertiary age are located in the Pond Inlet area. Coal occurs at the following locations:

Location	Distance from Settlement	Means of Access
East of Canada Point	65 miles	Dogteam or ski-doo in winter.
The South Coast of Bylot Island	30 "	" " " " "
The Salmon River Deposit	9 "	Dogteam or ski-doo in winter or bulldozer in summer.

Only one of the deposits has been exploited. This has been the Salmon River deposit which is readily accessible from the settlement. The camp boss at Nadlua attempted to locate the deposit east of Canada Point in 1967 for use in his stove but failed to locate it. The Hudson's Bay Company began mining the Salmon River deposit in 1924, as fuel for its establishment at Pond Inlet. The R.C.M.P. and the missions also mined coal for use at their establishments.¹

The Salmon River coal deposit is located along an eroded river bank with a vertical face 100 feet from the surface of the river to the top of the bank. The bank face extends some 1,500 feet but the coal seam is exposed along a 300 foot length. Weeks (Geological Summary Report, 1925, Part C) noted two seams approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick separated by 18 feet of sandstone. In August 1967, three seams were noted. One seam is at river level and is inundated during high water periods. The remaining two seams are located well above the river level at heights of 15 feet and 25 feet. The second and third seams are 2-4 feet and $4\frac{1}{2}$ -5 feet in thickness with the latter being obscured by down slumping. The $4\frac{1}{2}$ -5 foot seam was worked by the R.C.M.P.

TABLE 46 - Chemical Analysis of the Coal Deposit^x

	Sample 1945	Sample 1924	Sample 1932
Proximate Analysis	7.5	17.9	25.2
Moisture percent			
Ash percent	7.0	4.8	13.5
Volatile matter percent	26.7	22.4	21.7
Fixed carbon percent	58.8	54.9	39.6

^xBased on samples, 1945

(Continued)

¹ All deposits are located well inland from the coast

TABLE 46 - (continued)

	Sample 1945	Sample 1924	Sample 1932
Calorific value...B.T.U./lb.	11,190.00	9.86	7,891
Sulphur	6.4	0.4	0.4
Softening temp. of ash F.	2,620	-	2,150
Caking properties	non-caking	non-caking	non-caking
Classification by rank A.S.T.M.	Sub-bituminous B 103.5 lignitic	Sub-bituminous B 87.5 lignitic	106.4

Swartzman's report indicated a lower volatile matter content than coals of the Drumheller or Edmonton regions of Alberta (32.5 per cent as against 40 per cent for Drumheller and Edmonton). This is apparently due to Pond Inlet coal being composed mainly of fusain which is lower in volatile matter than other petrographic constituents. Fusain is a petrographic constituent of coal which is porous and usually weak and crumbly even in a fresh state.

Briquetting tests resulted in; briquettes equal to best on Canadian market, bulk density comparable to briquettes made from other coals, briquettes suitable for space heaters, kitchen stoves. A disadvantage was the necessity of storing coal and the briquettes under cover, and the need of importing flour and storing it for briquetting purposes. While the coal is of good quality chemically, it crumbles in handling and exposure to air. Stored in sacks, the wastage in slacking over a 3-4 month period amounts to 20 per cent. Stored loose in bulk, the coal slacks to a point where the loss is 60 per cent. Attempts to ship coal to other localities by the Hudson's Bay Company failed due to the high amount of wastage experienced in transit.

The coal was mined in April by Eskimos miners. A house belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company was hauled by dogteam to the mine site for the convenience of the miners. The coal was broken off with crowbars, bagged and lowered to the river bank by ropes. It was then hauled into the settlement by dogteam. An Eskimo foreman was in charge of the mining operation. April was the most convenient month for mining coal. The trapping season had finished and the weather was becoming more suitable for mining. The coal could be chipped out with crowbars. Conditions were also suitable for hauling the coal into the settlement.

Some variations occurred in respect to coal production from year to year, but an estimated 1,800-2,000 tons of coal were removed since mining began in 1924.

Examples are available for 1946 and 1947.

1946 Agency	Quantity Mined	1947 Agency	Quantity Mined
Hudson's Bay Company	35 tons	Hudson's Bay Company	25 tons
Anglican Mission	11 "	Anglican Mission	8 "
R.C. Mission	18 "	R.C. Mission	17 "
Totals	64 tons		50 tons

Production of coal ceased in 1963 when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development installed a bulk fuel oil tank in the community. The agencies using coal converted to oil both as a matter of convenience and economy. Attempts have been made to use the coal for heating trail cabins in the Pond Inlet area.

Eskimo Housing

The establishment of low-cost rental housing for Eskimos in the settlement of Pond Inlet resulted in consideration being given to the use of the coal for heating and cooking. The Pond Inlet Community Council manifested an interest in mining coal for use in the settlement, and the Area Administrator requested that support be given to this as a feasible project and made the following comparison in heating costs.

TABLE 47 - Comparison of Costs of Heating with Oil as Against Coal

Oil:	20 (houses) Pond Inlet F/month	180 gal. x 10 mo. 40/gal.	\$14,400
	20 houses in the camps	120 gal. x 10 mo. 40/gal.	9,600
			<u>\$24,000</u>
Coal:	20 (houses) Pond Inlet C/month	2 tons x 12 mo. 30/ton	14,400
	20 houses in the camps	1.5 tons x 12 mo. 30/ton	10,800
			<u>\$25,200</u>

It is worthwhile to include here the costs of producing sufficient coal to meet the heating requirements as estimated by the Area Administrator in 1966. Annual coal requirements were estimated to be 42 tons per annum for heating housing units. Current costs of mining and hauling coal run to \$1.50 per bag (\$30.00 per ton). This would amount to an annual income of \$1,262.00 for miners. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development failed to implement this as a project.

TABLE 48 - Annual Estimated Costs of Coal Production

Estimated Costs	
6 men at 400/month for 7 months	\$16,800 ^x
2 men at 400/month for 6 months	4,800
2 ski-doos and heavy sleds	2,000
1,500 coal bags 50 cents	750
Gas for ski-doos	500
	<u>\$24,850</u>
Reserve for equipment, miscellaneous costs \$5,150	

^xBased on raising production per man to a ton a day.

There are a number of factors which have inhibited development of coal mining. The major ones are:

1. The high cost of assessing the coal deposit. An estimate of \$100,000 was given for initial drilling programs in 1959. Unfortunately, no breakdown is available in respect to these costs. The alternative to a heavy investment in assessment costs was the simple alternative of exploiting the coal with simple techniques and equipment until it became exhausted. The ski-doos and sleds could be diverted to other projects. The danger of quick exhaustion of the resource could be safeguarded against by the simple expediency of providing stoves suitable for coal or oil. The Pond Inlet Eskimos have had experience in dynamiting and surface coal mining. The alternative to extensive tunneling would have been simply to remove the overburden by bulldozing in the summer.
2. The Rental Housing Agreement, initiated in 1966, provided heat, light and water to Eskimo housing. The erection of fuel oil storage tanks in the community in 1962 and 1967, plus a difficulty in securing authorization for a local project has proved to be the major deterrent.

Baffin Land Iron Mines Limited

A description of the Baffin Land Iron Mines holding at Mary River was included in the north Foxe Basin area economic survey report of 1965.

Excellent and detailed feasibility studies (Surveyor, Nenniger and Chenevert report, 1965), have been completed on contract for Baffin Land Iron Mines Limited and are available for perusal. In submissions to the federal Government in 1966, management of Baffin Land Iron Mines Limited outlined the assistance they felt was necessary to initiate Baffin Land Iron Mines as an operating mine. A feasibility study completed for the company in 1965, indicated a direct cost of about 70 million dollars to prepare the ore body for production and to construct all supporting facilities and to purchase equipment. Total capital requirement estimates, including 14 million dollars for working capital, have been estimated to be \$97,230,000.

TABLE 49 - Proposed Government Contribution

Railroads, Milne Inlet to Mary River	\$13,796,440.00
Airports (Milne Inlet, Mary River)	1,170,600.00
Access road (Milne Inlet to Mary River)	1,075,000.00
Townsites (Mine property and Milne Inlet)	1,883,300.00
Dock and dredging	4,029,150.00
Hydro-electric plant and transmission line from Pilik River	11,000,000.00
Total	<u>\$32,954,940.00</u>

Various existing government assistance programs do not meet this total commitment.

Existing forms of government assistance consist of:

- (a) Prospectors Assistance Plan, (Ceiling \$30,000 in N.W.T.) grants of \$900 per year to stake an individual prospector.
- (b) Northern Mineral Exploration Assistance Program (financial assistance up to 40 per cent of an applicant's approved exploration program expenses, \$3,000,000 for Yukon and N.W.T.).
- (c) Ten year program of road construction (total expenditure \$100,000,000) in Yukon and Mackenzie district. In 1965, Baffin Land Iron Mines received a grant of \$5,136.00 and in 1966 a grant of \$4,863.00 for road construction.
- (d) Assistance in development of airstrips. In 1965, Baffin Land Iron Mines received a grant of \$8,200 for airstrip developments at Mary River and Milne Inlet.
- (e) Economic and feasibility studies of proposed northern primary production operation.
- (f) Financial support for Chambers of Mines, subsidized assay services, provision and strategically located Mining Recorder's offices.

In addition the Department of Transport provides hydrographic surveys and ice reconnaissance patrols. The Eclipse Sound and Milne Inlet approaches to Mary Inlet have been surveyed by the Department of Transport.

Briefly, the work program to date has been multi-faceted with the establishment of airstrips at Mary River (5,800 feet) and Milne Inlet (3,000 feet), the bulldozing of a tote trail between Mary River and Milne Inlet, a diamond drilling program on No.1 deposit and the shipment of 160 tons of mineral samples south for evaluation. Surveys of various types, terrain, soil, wharf dockage facilities, surveys for the establishment of processing facilities, mine layout, etc., have been carried out.

In 1967, no activities were carried out on the mine property. Facilities for work crews consist of tent frames, a cook shack, garage and warehousing. Minimal warehousing and living quarters have also been erected at Milne Inlet.

Factors Involved in Mining in the Eastern Arctic

The following factors are involved in mining in the eastern Arctic: extreme temperatures of long duration, a very short shipping season estimated at two months that could be extended by developments in Alexbow design icebreaker, initial short construction season until building roughed in, permafrost conditions, shortage of skilled labour, labour costs extremely high, high costs of materials some of which would have to be transported by plane.

The consultant report recommended an increase of production rate of 4,000,000 long tons per year. The company has estimated local employment at 1,000 people which in turn should normally support a population of 4,000 to 5,000 people. Anders, (1965, p.112) gives an employment forecast of between 500 and 600 of which half would probably be Eskimos. In 1966, the Eskimo population of Baffin Island region totalled 4,384 Eskimos living in 13 main settlements and a number of camps.

During the summers of 1963, 1964 and 1965, the iron ore deposits were investigated by prospecting, geological mapping, trenching and magnetometer surveys. Partially completed diamond drilling and No.1 deposit indicated a conservatively estimated 127.7 million tons grading 68.2 per cent soluble iron and 1.37 per cent silica with impurities within acceptable limits. This provides a known reserve sufficient to support a 2,000,000 ton per year operation for over fifty years. Tonnage estimates for No.2, 3 and 4 deposits have not been made.

Baffin Land Iron Mines has employed Eskimos from the Pond Inlet and Igloolik areas in the initial exploratory and development work with satisfactory results. A number of Eskimos from the Baffin Island region have been trained in heavy equipment, and diesel courses under Departmental training programs and would form a valuable mine labour force. There are also a number of young Eskimo males in various communities who are presently underemployed, taking seasonal employment as it becomes available.

It is realistic to assume that mining techniques would involve a high degree of automation to overcome high labour costs. The same can be anticipated in respect to the development of the Texas Gulf and Sulphur property in Strathcona Sound. Unskilled or semi-skilled labour would be used in initial phases of development. There is a pressing need for the establishment of an economic base to support an increasing Eskimo population, but it would be wrong to conclude that Baffin Land Iron Mines offers an instant solution to this problem. Rather the availability of a potential labour force adapted to northern living is one of a multiplicity of factors involved in the opening of this mine.

The total estimated expenditures of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for 1966-1967, amounted to \$9,559,841 with an estimated

\$4,283,067 in capital expenditures. These may be compared with total expenditures of \$6,307,335 in 1965-1966. This does not include the expenditures of other federal agencies: Northern Canada Power Commission, Department of Transport, R.C.M.P., Indian Northern Health Service. These expenditures apply to the Baffin administrative region.

TABLE 50 - Eskimo Population Figures, 1966

Settlement	Frobisher Region		
	White	Eskimos	Total
Arctic Bay	7	210	217
Broughton Island	5	195	200
Cape Christian	33	253	286
Cape Dorset	31	291	322
Aquiautulalavok	-	43	43
Egalavik	-	35	35
Etilliakjuk	-	46	46
Sartoituk	-	13	13
Tikirak	-	18	18
Clyde River	8	244	252
Frobisher Bay	600	1,040	1,640
Igloolik and Camps	28	673	701
Lake Harbour	6	66	72
Camps	-	73	73
Padloping Island	1	54	55
Pangnirtung	34	316	350
Cumberland Sound Camps	-	301	301
Pond Inlet and Camps	17	298	315
Total	770	4,169	4,939

While it is impossible to view the development of Baffin Land Iron Mines Limited as a total solution to the socio-economic problems of the Baffin Island region, it does offer interesting potentials for the employment of a number of Eskimos and the eventual dissolution of some small settlements with no real economic base sufficient to support the population. In terms of location and transportation routes and world markets for iron, ore from Baffin Land Iron Mines Limited could be marketed in Europe. However, this depends upon costs, and currently estimated production and transportation costs do not meet the price of iron ores shipped from west Africa and laid down at the docks in Europe at \$7.50 a ton. It should be assumed that production costs will continue to rise rather than decrease on a scale comparable with other industries. Development of the mine is predicated on the world market for iron ore and the provision of government subsidies. In 1967, no activities were carried on at the mine site. The federal government is continuing to assess the transportation problems involved in shipping ore through Milne Inlet and Eclipse Sound.

Texas Gulf and Sulphur Company, Strathcona Sound, Admiralty Inlet Area

A deposit of pyrite with minor sphalerite and galena was discovered on the south side of Strathcona Sound by a prospector with the Canadian Government Expedition in 1910-1911. The body lies within the Society Cliffs formation of the Uluksan Group. It was examined by R. G. Blackadar of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys in 1954. The Texas Gulf and Sulphur property is one of a number of holdings by Texas Gulf and Sulphur Company, Incorporated, with offices in New York and Toronto. This company is one of the world's largest sulphur producers with producing mines or plants in the U.S.A. and Canada.

Rocks are early Paleozoic or late Proterozoic sediments, generally flat-lying with some folding and a fair amount of faulting. Several gabbro dikes cross the area but do not appear to have any connection with the mineralization. Mineralization occurs in the form of a massive sulphide in which pyrite is the predominant mineral. Lenses of sphalerite and galena occur. Both the galena and the sphalerite occur as massive lenses but the sphalerite also occurs to some extent disseminated in the pyrite. A typical geological section consists of dolomite (900') shale 300 to 400 feet grading into sandstone and finally quartzite. The main mineralized horizon occurs between one and two hundred feet above the base of the dolomite. Mineralization varies from not more than a foot to the main showing where it reaches five feet in thickness and in the western showing where it may reach twenty feet or more. The main showing was staked as early as 1957. The western showing is to the southwest of the main showing. South of the main and western showing is a haematite showing. The main deposit is a single body, 15,000 feet long, 300 to 500 feet wide and 30 to 50 feet thick.

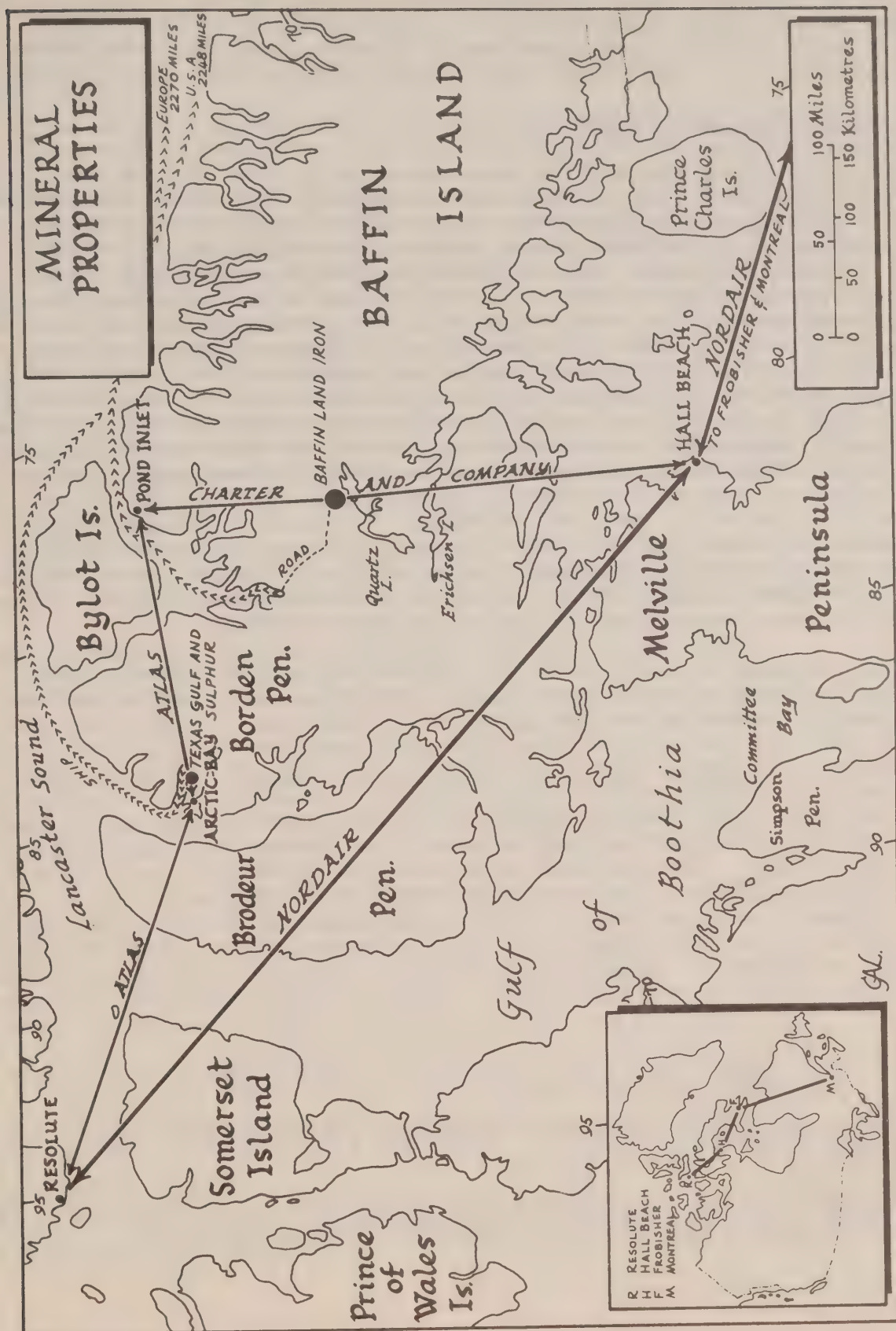
Company officials in 1964 stated that at Strathcona Sound "ore averaging about 20 per cent or equivalent net value with lead and silver can be mined profitably" and estimated several million tons of ore of this grade were available. By 1967, the project manager estimated 15 million tons of ore were available.

The Texas Gulf and Sulphur Company holding on the south shore of Strathcona Sound, southwest of English Bay consists of a compact body of claims covering approximately thirty square miles of ground and fronting Strathcona Sound for a distance of six miles. By the end of 1967, the body of claims consisted of 250 individual claims. The property is approximately eighteen miles from Arctic Bay, and is located at tidewater which will facilitate shipping of materials necessary to bring the property into production as well as shipping out ore. Present emphasis is directed towards proving out the ore body, but plans include the annual shipment of one large shipload of semi-processed ore. Thirty-three additional claims were added to the property in 1968.

Other Mineralizations

Blackadar (1965, p.23), states that rich beds of magnetite and haematite were observed in the Paleozoic Gallery and Turner Cliffs Formations west of Navy Board Inlet. Southeast of Adams Sound a small pinnacle of black massive haematite appears cutting through the Dolomite. None of these occurrences, however, is of any significant size.

FIGURE 23 - Location Map Showing Mineral Properties, Northern Baffin Island



The development program has also included the development of roads in the claim area (15 miles), construction of a landing strip suitable for small planes and helicopters, depth soundings in Strathcona Sound and measurement of ice conditions.

Soapstone Mining, Pond Inlet Area

Soapstone mining has provided some revenue in the form of money to individual miners. The soapstone has been exported to Frobisher Bay and used locally for the production of handicrafts. The main deposit is located in the southwestern part of Milne Inlet at Bruce Head, eighty miles from Pond Inlet by boat or dogteam. This deposit appears to be large enough to meet the local demands for soapstone and to supply other settlements such as Resolute and Grise Fiord. The soapstone is hard, varying from a good quality stone for carving to stone with minute quartz inclusions which makes it difficult to carve. In winter, the main soapstone deposit is banked with snow and the most opportune time for mining is in the late spring, June or July, after the snow has melted sufficiently to expose the main exposure. The stone is bagged for transport by ship or boat and deposited at the beach area at Bruce Head where it can be picked up by D.O.T. vessels calling at Pond Inlet.

A small erratic deposit of gray soapstone is located approximately four miles southwest of Qarmardjuik and this is utilized by the Nadlua carvers who feel it is insufficient for extensive mining for use by other Eskimos. A former soapstone deposit west of Ikaluit has been exhausted.

The following are the returns for soapstone mining operations at Bruce Head in the southern part of Milne Inlet. The miners travelled to the area from Pond by ski-doo in late June.

TABLE 51 - Soapstone Production and Income

Production by Individual Miners (lbs.)	Income (dollars)
4,000	400.00
4,295	429.50
620	62.00
350	35.00
	15.00
Total	941.50

The miners received ten cents a pound for stone bagged and hauled to the shore area at Bruce Head.

The Eskimos also utilize gypsum taken from east of Canada Point and in the Bluff Head area. Only small quantities are utilized in carving.

Chapter IV - Conclusions

Administration and the Development of Settlement Economies

One of the major factors affecting economic development in high Arctic communities such as Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Grise Fiord has been extreme distance, not only in terms of import and export of commodities, but also in terms of administration for greater economic development. The communities have a tendency to be "backwater" areas in terms of effective regional administration and the development of small industries capable of injecting some capital into the communities. The solution for more effective administration appears to be the establishment of a sub-regional center at Resolute and providing the communities with greater assistance in project development. Careful planning is desirable to avoid the development of large staffs with insufficient work. An industrious and capable arts and crafts development officer, for example, should be able to operate an effective program for Resolute, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Igloolik and Hall Beach operating out of an established base at Resolute. Similar conditions apply to a co-operative development officer, a welfare worker, or an adult education supervisor. Transportation and communication systems are more than adequate for the institution of effective programs. However, there is an inherent danger of developing northern communities into places where the people become so committed to minimal standards of income, they will be reluctant to leave the community to become competitive with other groups.

Problems of Resource Harvesting Resulting from Settlement Growth

Problems obviously arise in terms of seasonal resource utilization due to the employment that is seasonally available in Arctic settlements. While there has been limited experimentation with resource harvesting as a part of community development programs, the available examples indicate limited success. Examples of the limited success have been walrus and fish harvesting projects in the Igloolik area and fox trapping in the Keewatin area, where costs were high with minimal returns. A complicating factor has been the orientation of employable males towards wage employment when it is available. Employable males, ranging in age from 16-65, show little interest in participating in projects unless there is a cash return comparable to the amounts of money available from construction projects in the settlement. The most opportune times for large-scale fishing projects are in late August and September. This is at a time when construction is in full swing, ships are arriving to be unloaded, and the Hudson's Bay Company store is being re-stocked.

A fox trapping project was initiated during the winter of 1967-1968, in the Nettilling Lake area by a D.I.A.N.D. projects officer at Pangnirtung, N.W.T. Four trapping trips were made by Eskimos using ski-doo's for transportation between January 8 and April. The number of ski-doo's used on the four trips were seven, five, six and three in that order. Total gas expenditure amounted to 1,500 gallons of gas. The fur take consisted of 160 Arctic fox valued at \$1,920.00 and seven wolves valued at \$385.00. In addition, thirty-seven caribou were taken. No accounting was kept of expenditures of food stocks or fuel oil.

The Question of Permanence Arctic Bay

One of the pertinent questions arising in respect to Arctic Bay and, indeed many other northern settlements, is the survival value of the settlement. The Arctic Bay Eskimos are a mixed group of Iglulik, Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset, Pond Inlet, and original Tununirusirmiut. They have resisted attempts to have their children schooled elsewhere (Pond Inlet).

The movement of Eskimos has been slight in recent years resulting from a declining mobility due to expanded education facilities, welfare and construction programs in the settlements.

The population is likely to increase due to the number of young persons who have recently married. The establishment of a nursing station in 1967, together with the increasing in-settlement orientation of the population should result in fewer infant deaths. The resources of the Arctic Bay area appear to be adequate to support a continued population growth provided that resource harvesting does not become too confined and utilization patterns remain fairly stable. However, the returns from trapping have been low and sealskin prices have declined. Money from construction and carvings are being expended on immediate requirements and are insufficient for the accumulation of cash reserves by individuals or family groups. The production of carvings does not appear to have reached capacity production. The major problems appear to be in quality control and expansion of marketing systems. Arctic Bay has a minor tourism potential, but this could be expanded through "package deals" for tourists and increasing accessibility.

There are limits to which community projects can be developed in small communities like Arctic Bay and these have a limited effect on local economies. At present, community projects are hampered by a lack of non-Eskimo personnel capable of handling projects. It appears that a projects officer could sponsor projects for larger returns from the resource base. There has long been an interest on the part of the Eskimos in the acquisition of a longliner. Two smaller whaleboats could provide adequate transportation and permit a diversification of activities during the open-water period.

Hopefully, Texas Gulf and Sulphur Limited will continue to develop the property in Strathcona Sound, and provide increased employment to local Eskimos.

The problem of increasing productivity/capita can be approached through:

- (a) Increasing productivity/capita via technological means. Emphasis in the eastern Arctic has been directed to minor improvements in subsistence economies. No great efficiency has been realized.
- (b) By reducing the rate of natural population increase. This involves family planning, etc.
- (c) By a combination of (a) and (b).

Major technological improvements and programs leading to a reduction of natural increase are difficult to achieve in an area or region where resources are scarce and populations are small.

Tanned Sealskins

Since the women of Pond Inlet are particularly skilful in the production of sealskin garments, and the Pond Inlet resource area supports a large ringed seal population, some consideration must be given to the tanning of sealskin handicrafts for export to southern markets. The major problems are in the co-ordination of air transportation in terms of shipping sealskins for tanning and returning tanned sealskins.

Freight costs from Pond Inlet to Montreal are the following: Atlas Aviation to Resolute, (50 cents a pound); Nordair from Resolute to Montreal, (54 cents a pound). Freight costs by Nordair from Frobisher to Montreal are 36 cents a pound.

The average weight of untanned sealskins is $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds and the average size of a skin is four to five square feet. It is assumed these prices could be reduced through a request for a special commodity rate. A commodity rate of 17 cents a pound for sealskin shipments between Frobisher and Montreal was secured by the manager of a Frobisher co-operative.

Prices Quoted by Companies for Chrome Tanning, 1968

The following prices were quoted for chrome tanning: Montreal, (\$5.00 per skin regardless of size); Quebec, (45 cents per square foot, minimum charge \$2.50); Kitchener, Ontario, (40 cents per square foot, average cost per sealskin \$1.60-\$2.00).

Some advantage would be derived from utilizing charters originating from Frobisher to Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. However, these do not occur with any regularity. Recent production figures on sealskins in the Baffin region do not provide a realistic basis for the establishment of a tannery at Frobisher Bay unless the Department can purchase the total output, either directly from Eskimos or from the Hudson's Bay Company. Markets have not yet been developed to absorb handicraft production in the volume which would result from tanning and use of large quantities of sealskins.

The most reasonable solution appears to be for the Co-operative at Pond Inlet to purchase select sealskins from local hunters and ship them out for tanning by backhaul on air charters from Frobisher Bay. From Frobisher, the skins could be shipped air freight from Frobisher to Montreal for tanning and returned in the same way. Some delays should be anticipated. The Industrial Division at Frobisher Bay could perform the necessary function of providing assistance in the collection of sealskins on charter flights and routing them to southern tanneries. Some warehousing space would be necessary at Frobisher for untanned sealskins coming from the settlements and tanned sealskins awaiting shipment by air charter to outlying settlements.

The feasibility of establishing a sealskin garment industry at Frobisher Bay was intensively researched in 1966-1967, by the Industrial Division of the Department. Initial exploratory production was commenced in 1968. Centralized production on a large-scale may provide competition for production in the outlying settlements. This problem may be resolved by the use of specific designs by different settlements and a central marketing system. Income potentials

could be increased through organized handicraft production similar to the fur garment industries in Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. The problem of coping with small children could be overcome through the establishment of a day nursery system. The alternative to this would be the establishment of cottage type industries which could be carried out in the home. This would merely represent an extension of present patterns of handicraft production, although cottage industries would provide workers with increased incomes and stabilize production. Many handicraft producers attempt to gear their production to meet the local market. Many capable workers fail to produce at full capacity simply because they are not aware of what is a popular item or the necessary changes needed to improve other items in order to increase the selling potential.

Utilization of Waste Products

In general, utilization of "waste" products is unsatisfactory in a modified subsistence economy and more so in a settlement-based hunting and trapping economy. With respect to narwhal, for example, a maximum take of 200 would result in 200 x 505 equal to 101,000 pounds of bone and "waste" products, based on preliminary information supplied by Arctic Unit, Department of Fisheries.

Reduced utilization of blubber and edible meat of other species (ringed seal) will result in increasing amounts of resource materials being discarded on the killing site. The problem is compounded due to dispersed harvesting sites.

The market for marine oils in Canada is presently depressed with a price of .035 cents a pound being quoted on the eastern seaboard for tank car lots and prices of 5-6 cents a pound F.O.B. being quoted at Toronto. Obviously, there is little point in contemplating collection of marine oils derived from the waste products from hunting narwhal and seal in the eastern Arctic of Canada.

The production of pet foods should not be contemplated due to high production costs, collection costs and overall transportation costs in the eastern Arctic. The most effective method of utilization of waste materials following a decline in dogteams is utilization of the waste products through fur farming, but fur farming per se is beyond the capability of Eskimos or non-Eskimos without extensive training. Development of tourism through sports hunting would increase the income potential while not necessarily reducing waste. However, the need for real income is sufficiently great that this means of resource utilization cannot be overlooked. Retention of resources for indigenous populations, who gain minor economic returns from hunting is simply ignoring the major economic potential of the high Arctic in terms of renewable resources.

It is reasonable to assume that the volume of resource harvesting may increase for an indefinite period in the Pond Inlet area, due to increased efficiency (use of ski-dogs, scopes, etc.) while actual resource use may decline due to more income being available and the increasing utilization of non-local foods. When one considers that all of the settlements in Baffin Island are undergoing rapid evolution, the problem of adequate utilization of resources becomes a major one.

The problem of utilizing surplus resource materials is affected by a number of factors: problems of local collection over a large harvesting area, high returns from prevailing rate and casual employment against low returns from resource harvesting, lack of storage facilities.

The major problem lies simply in what to do with excess meat, bone and blubber, materials for which there is no local demand and for which no markets have been established elsewhere.

Arctic Fox Farming

Arctic fox have been raised on fur farms in various localities and as far south as Ontario with varying degrees of success. Fur farming requires a considerable degree of skill, but it may provide an ultimate solution for declining interest in trapping and a decline in resource utilization throughout the eastern Arctic.

Factors for Fox Farming

The major factors are: availability of local food resources already being taken, incidental to other pursuits, a fur species native to the environment and able to withstand rigours of climate, production of uniformly prime pelts through selective breeding and proper feeding, overcoming the cyclical trends evident among Arctic fox.

Canadian Wildlife Service studies indicate a high mortality rate among Arctic foxes during the pup stage through sibling rivalry, the existence of predators, etc.

With Eskimos becoming settlement oriented, spare time is now available for low-cost community projects and one of these might be an experiment in fox farming. This would provide a solution to surplus resources resulting from increased hunting efficiency and would eliminate the problems of processing for shipment elsewhere. The aim of such a project would be to provide older or partially handicapped Eskimos with some form of income. It is anticipated that at Pond Inlet a major part of the food requirements for fur farming could be taken by netting whale and seal during the open-water period in August and September.

Tourism

The Pond Inlet area is one of the most attractive areas on Baffin Island in terms of future tourist potential. However, due to distance and a relatively short season, real potential is limited. Access is possible through the regular Nordair flights to Resolute from Montreal and the twice monthly Atlas Aviation flights. The fare for a return trip amounts to \$570.00.

The scenery at Bylot Island and Pond highland is spectacular. There are a number of archaeological sites of interest, old commercial whaling sites and a colourful local history. There are excellent potentials for seal hunting in April and May in the Eclipse Sound area and at Button Point in June. During the summer these animals are available at strategic locations in Eclipse Sound, Navy Board Inlet and Pond Inlet. Excellent char fishing is available at Koluktoo Bay. An airstrip is located at this location. Fishing could be combined with narwhal and seal hunting in this zone in August. The Eskimos are hospitable and are excellent guides. Handicraft production is of a superior quality. While there are many positive factors in respect to tourism, the disadvantages may outweigh these at the present time.

To summarize briefly, economic potentials for tourism are limited due to: distance from southern centers of population, regulations in respect to sea

mammal hunting inhibit development of tourism based on hunting, availability of intermediate zones which are more accessible in the eastern Arctic.

Future developments in low-cost air transportation will open up the high Arctic settlements to tourism. They may then prove more attractive to tourists than more advanced areas in the intermediate Arctic zone.

It is worthwhile in terms of this report to briefly examine tourist potential and possible organization. In mid-June, ice conditions are favourable for sled trips by dogteam or ski-doo to the Button Point area from Pond Inlet. This trip includes a number of interesting features: Igarjuak the old whaling station site and former Eskimo encampment, graves of Scottish whalers and members of Bernier's crew, Kaparotalik and Sermilik glaciers on south Bylot, Mount Herodier, Button Point with its Dorset archaeological site, the murre cliffs teeming with murre and caves at the foot of the murre cliffs, and the floe-edge. In late June and July, the floe-edge is teeming with sea mammals and sea birds. There are ringed harp and bearded seals, schools of narwhal and occasionally small herds of walrus. Sea birds include murre, common and king eiders. A short stay trail cabin is located at Button Point. Climatic conditions are pleasant enough to tent directly at the floe-edge. Time required for a trip of this nature would be 5 to 7 days to permit adequate opportunities to hunt. Utok seal hunting is available directly from the settlement. At the floe-edge there are opportunities for hunting narwhal from the floe-edge and in ice-cracks as well as opportunity to hunt other sea mammals moving along the floe-edge. Boat trips are feasible for hunting seal, narwhal and walrus.

The estimated costs of a trip of this nature from Pond Inlet would be in the vicinity of \$250.00 per person including rental of dogteam or a ski-doo, a guide, accommodation and food.

By mid-August open-water conditions are suitable to permit boat hunting of ringed seal, square flipper, narwhal and the occasional walrus. Spectacular migrations of narwhal occur in the Eclipse Sound area culminating at Koluktoo Bay. This is also a choice location for char fishing, sealing and narwhal hunting. Tourists could proceed directly to Pond and charter the local longliner at \$85.00 per day or be landed at Koluktoo Bay, using the Baffin Land Iron airstrip where they could be met by guides and transported the short distance to the Robertson River area. Total estimated costs of a five day trip to Koluktoo Bay by longliner would range in the vicinity of \$425.00 with an extra \$100.00 for food and miscellaneous items. With proper guidance, the Community Council at Pond Inlet could handle a tourist operation catering to small groups of tourists in June and in August. The Pond Inlet Eskimos require little in the way of guide training and the women could easily be trained in cooking skills.

The seasonal aspect of the tourist potential is a restrictive factor. The most appropriate method of developing tourism would appear to be for the development of package plans including intermediate stops at Hall Beach, for trout fishing at Hall Lake and sea mammal hunting (seal and walrus) and at Resolute for polar bear hunting in the spring and sea mammal hunting in August. Sports hunting could be a source of revenue for the high Arctic and should be carefully re-assessed in view of changing utilization patterns of resident groups. Limited quotas should not affect existing stocks and could be

incorporated into Canadian Wildlife and Department of Fisheries research programs.

Cannery

The Koluktoo Bay area in Milne Inlet presently offers a minor potential for experimentation with a specialty foods program in the product of narwhal muktuk and char. The product could be shipped by D.O.T. vessels south for marketing at \$120 a ton. Experiments in this direction should be integrated with a small fishery project to supply other high Arctic communities. The establishment of a cannery operation could only be contemplated following a detailed analysis of costs and markets available for the product.

Satellite Communities

There appears to be little social or economic justification for the establishing of satellite communities on north Baffin, either in the Pond Inlet or Admiralty Inlet areas. Eventual development of the Baffin Land Iron Ore and Texas Gulf and Sulphur properties will turn existing communities into satellite communities. The rapid replacement of dogteams with ski-dogs will enable some Eskimos to maintain resource harvesting levels. The development of mineral properties in the high Arctic is rapidly becoming feasible, despite high costs. However, emphasis should be increasingly placed on encouraging younger Eskimos to seek employment in southern Canada. Romantics who would like to see the Eskimo remain in the role of Arctic hunter should confine their endeavours to encouraging older Eskimos to record a way of life that is swiftly passing in even remote communities like Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet.

Trail Cabins

A program of establishing trail cabins would provide assistance to hunters and trappers in the Admiralty Inlet area. Simple housing at Cape Crauford, Cape Charles Yorke, the head of Elwin Inlet, Pusignajojaq Hill, would encourage increased hunting and trapping efforts.

Projects Officer

Some priority should be given to placing a projects officer for a two year period at Arctic Bay. It appears that a projects officer would be effective in maintaining and expanding on resource harvesting. The person selected for this position should have extensive Arctic experience and a knowledge of co-operative development and arts and crafts. He should be free from onerous and time consuming administrative duties. He could provide assistance and liaison to Community Council projects at Pond.

To briefly re-iterate, there are a number of projects in both the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas which could be satisfactorily organized by a projects officer. These are:

1. Establishment of a seasonal char fishery in the Koluktoo Bay area.
2. Completion of the establishment of line cabins in the Pond Inlet area and institution of a similar program in the Admiralty Inlet area.

3. Completion of minimal airstrip facilities for Otters and Beechcraft at the Saputing River, southern Admiralty Inlet for the institution of a seasonal fishing program.
4. The introduction and efficient use of whale nets in the Pond Inlet area. An introduction of efficient seal netting practices in the Arctic Bay area.
5. Experiments in taking harp seals in the Pond Inlet area.
6. Purchase of a larger boat by the Arctic Bay Eskimos and the organization of an efficient program of resource utilization.
7. Assistance to the arts and crafts production programs at both settlements.

Some consideration should be given to raising the present quota for polar bear. This is a rather important facet of the subsistence economy for the Arctic Bay Eskimos and is an important supplement to income during low periods in the fox cycle. The existing hunting range is in Prince Regent inlet and distance from the settlement is such that overkill is unlikely to occur. The northeastern sector of the Gulf of Boothia is not normally hunted due to uncertain ice conditions.

Adult Education

A prospecting course designed to equip the Admiralty Inlet and Pond Inlet Eskimos to recognize semi-precious stones and other minerals should be put into operation as quickly as possible. The course should be adequate enough to equip Eskimos with sufficient knowledge to stake finds they have made. It is recommended that a qualified instructor be added to the Adult Education section of the Department.

Ski-doo Maintenance

The need for instruction in maintenance and repair of outboard motors and ski-doos has long been recognized. Programs in training individual Eskimos in ski-doo maintenance have proved ineffective in practical application. It is recommended that a qualified instructor be hired on a contract basis as part of the adult education program for the purpose of travelling throughout the eastern Arctic giving practical courses.

Positions Presently held by Non-Eskimos in Northern Communities

Despite considerable progress in the field of education, the assumption of responsible positions in the Arctic communities by Eskimos has been slow to materialize. With increasing numbers of Eskimos receiving advanced education, action should be taken to recruit and train Eskimos for the following positions: clerks, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay; post office managers, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay; game officers, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay; co-operative managers, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay; R.C.M.P. constables, Pond Inlet; clergy.

The establishment of responsible positions would increase the income available to the Eskimo community and partially supplant the growing need to provide casual employment. It would also reduce the turnover through employment of non-Eskimo staffs. It appears that responsible agencies in the north must take more positive action in this direction.

Adult Education

In order to prepare the Arctic Bay Eskimos for increased participation in the development of the Strathcona Sound Lead and Zinc properties, some consideration should be given to a more concrete program in adult education in consultation with Texas Gulf and Sulphur Ltd. The possibility of having an adult education teacher on a rotational basis between Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet should be explored. The adult sector of the population is falling rapidly behind the children's in terms of learning basic English skills. The current adult education programs operated by teachers employed during a normal work day are slow in producing results.

Radio Station at Pond Inlet

The radio station at Pond Inlet offers a valuable educational media which has been largely ignored. Extended programming should include an emphasis on adult education both in Eskimo and English. This requires the make-up of realistic programs by adult education specialists with a knowledge of both Eskimo and English.

Bimonthly Newspaper

The establishment of two small bimonthly papers in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay would provide a simple educational device for local residents. The costs of these should be provided for by the Adult Education section of Arctic education. The Messenger, a small two page newspaper printed in Eskimo Point, in both syllabic and English script, provides a suitable prototype with emphasis on local news and views, Canadian and world affairs. There are younger Eskimos in both communities with sufficient skills to carry out the necessary work involved in producing a simple newspaper.

APPENDICES

- Appendix I - List of Eskimo Camps, Iglulik Eskimos
- Appendix II - Work Experience, Pond Inlet Eskimos
- Appendix III - Fish Weight Samples
- Appendix IV - Life History, Pond Inlet Eskimo

APPENDIX I

Permanent and Seasonal Camps of the Iglulik Eskimos

Name	Location
Pitokerk	Cape Wilson, Melville Peninsula
Ussuakjuk	Cape Jermain, Melville Peninsula (also called Ussuadjuk)
Tikiraq	South of Amitoke Peninsula, Melville Peninsula
Ipiutaq	Base of Amitoke Peninsula
Ignirtuq	Parry Bay, Melville Peninsula (Ingnirtuq)
Qaviadluk	Parry Bay, Melville Peninsula (also called Kavialook)
Qarmat	East side of Melville, north of Parry Bay
Napokut	Two miles north of Hall Beach (also called Napaqat)
Qimmiqtugvik	Foster Bay area
Nugsanardjuk	South side Foster Bay
Aqunirq	West side Foster Bay
Pingerqalik	Melville Peninsula, point north of Foster Bay
N. Ooglit Islands	N. Ooglit Islands
Iglulik	Southeast corner, Igloolik Island
Ikpjarjuk	Settlement of Igloolik (also called Ikpiadjuk)
Qikqirtarjuk	Northeast corner of Igloolik Island (also called Qikqirtadjuk)
Siorak	Tern Island
Kapueevic	Skeoch Bay, Jens Munk Island
Qairsuit	Calthorpe Islands
Satoot	South side, Jens Munk Island
Nigliviktok	Southeast corner, Jens Munk Island
Manirtuk	Small island northwest side Koch Island (also called Manirtaq)
Iglojuak	Cape Thalbitzer (also called Iqlukjuaq)
Kangerslimiyu	Steensby Inlet, mouth of Rowley River
Isurtuq	Cape Jensen
Ikpik	Ikpik Bay
Piling	Piling Bay
Sioradjuk	Gifford Fiord (also called Siurakjuk)
Nauyagaluk	Sevigny Point area (also called Nauyagaloo)
Kakalik	Sikosak Bay area
Manituk	Richards Bay area
Akimanerk	West end of Fury and Hecla Strait
Agu	Agu Bay area
Qikitaruk	Crown Prince Frederick Island
Alarnarjuk	Three campsites, Garry Bay area
Amherst Island	Fury and Hecla Strait
Camp	
Tokaya	Murray Maxwell Bay
Opingivik	Murray Maxwell Bay
Tassiuyak	Murray Maxwell Bay
Qimiktuk	Agu Bay

(Continued)

U Permanent camps

UU Seasonal hunting camps

APPENDIX I - (continued)

There were innumerable camp sites occupied by one family or more for a season or two.

The major camps in the 1960's were Kapueevic, Manirtuk (Koch Island), Iglojuak (Cape Thalbitzer), Qikitadjuk (Igloolik Island), the main settlement Ikpiarjuk (Igloolik), Agu, Nugsanardjuk, Qimmiqtugvik, Ignirtug, Ussuakjuk and Sanaria (Hall Beach). Nauyagaluk, Akimanerk and Manitu (Richards Bay) were smaller and less important camps.

The most important camps in terms of contact between the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay Eskimos and the Iglulik Eskimos were the camps in the northern part of Foxe Basin, the Steensby Inlet camps and those in the Agu bay area. In the 1960's, these were Iglojuak, Kapueevic, Manirtok, Nauyaguluk, Agu and of course Ikpiarjuk, the main settlement.

APPENDIX II

Work Experience, Pond Inlet Eskimos

Sex	Age	No. of dependents	Work Experience
Male	49	6	R.C.M.P. (1965), D.I.A.N.D. 1966, clerk (H.B.C.), coal miner
Male	24	2	D.I.A.N.D. (1966), hostel (1967)
Male	34	5	D.I.A.N.D. (1964), H.B.C. (1952-1955)
Male	24	4	D.I.A.N.D. (1960-1963), Baffin Land Iron Mine (1965)
Male	29	2	Baffin Land Iron (1963-1965), Northern Health (1966-1967)
Male	29	5	D.I.A.N.D. (1959-1966), coal miner
Male	26	2	R.C.M.P., D.I.A.N.D. (1966), H.B.C.
Male	31	5	R.C.M.P., H.B.C., coal miner, Baffin Land Iron (1964)
Male	37	4	D.I.A.N.D. (1960-1967), Baffin Land Iron (1963)
Male	26	3	D.I.A.N.D. (1960-1966)
Male	45	4	H.B.C.
Male	53	4	R.C.M.P. (1929-1948)
Male	34	5	D.I.A.N.D. (1966-1967)
Male	23	2	D.I.A.N.D. (1961-1967), H.B.C.
Male	25	4	D.I.A.N.D. (1961-1966), H.B.C., coal miner (1963)
Male	58	6	R.C.M.P. (1941-1948)
Male	29	4	D.I.A.N.D. (1961-1966), H.B.C.
Male	29	2	D.I.A.N.D. (1960-1966) coal miner (1965)
Male	62	4	R.C.M.P., D.I.A.N.D., H.B.C., now dog control officer
Male	31	4	D.I.A.N.D. (1966), H.B.C.
Male	34	6	D.I.A.N.D. (1960), H.B.C.
Male	43	9	D.I.A.N.D. (1960-1963), H.B.C., hostel (1964-1965)
Male	20	0	D.I.A.N.D. (1967), H.B.C., Baffin Iron Mine (1965)

(Continued)

APPENDIX II - (continued)

Sex	Age	No. of dependents	Work Experience
Male	26	0	D.I.A.N.D. (1966), Baffin Iron Mine ¹ (1964-1965)
Male	33	5	R.C.M.P., H.B.C., Baffin Iron Mine (1963-1965) coal miner
Female	55	2	R.C.M.P. (1930), H.B.C. (1938)
Female	57	9	R.C.M.P., hostel (1964-1967)
Female	27	2	D.I.A.N.D., Northern Health (1966-1967)
Female	54	2	D.I.A.N.D., H.B.C. (1938)
Male	18	0	D.I.A.N.D., H.B.C.
Male	23	2	D.I.A.N.D. (1961), H.B.C. (1963), Baffin Iron Mine (1963)
Male	30	3	D.I.A.N.D. (1960), H.B.C., coal miner
Male	27	3	D.I.A.N.D. (1961-1963), Baffin Iron (1964)
Male	38	6	D.I.A.N.D. (1961), Northern Health (1967), H.B.C., coal miner
Male	34	9	D.I.A.N.D., H.B.C., coal miner
Male	49	5	H.B.C. (1946)
Male	19	0	D.I.A.N.D. (1964-1966), Texas Gulf and Sulphur (1963, 1967)
Male	23	0	Northern Health (1966)
Male	18	0	R.C.M.P., H.B.C.
Male	23	0	D.I.A.N.D., Baffin Iron Mine (1963-1965)
Male	18	1	R.C.M.P., D.I.A.N.D. (1964-1965)
Male	19	0	ship unloading (1964-1966)
Male	19	0	D.I.A.N.D. (1964), ship unloading, Baffin Iron Mines (1965)

As illustrated by the information tabled above, work experience has been in general confined to the home community and short term in duration. The variety of work experience has been limited. Also, the number of persons with training beyond a few years in grade school is extremely limited. There are four vocational trainees in the community. The Area Administrator in 1967, listed 9 labourers, 10 carpenters and 2 plumber and electrician helpers on the basis of experience gained with D.I.A.N.D. construction crews.

¹ Baffin Land Iron Mines

APPENDIX III

Length and weight samples of Arctic Char taken in the vicinity of the mouth of the Salmon River, in a gill net between Qilalukan and Salmon River, 1967. Whole weights.

Date	Sex	Weight (lbs.)	Length (inches)	Date	Sex	Weight (lbs.)	Length (inches)
July 26, 1967	Female	1.3	18	July 28, 1967	Male	1	19
	Male	2	20		Male	2	20½
	Male	2	18½		Male	2.3	21
July 28, 1967	Female	2.8	21½		Female	1.3	19½
	Male	2	19½		Female	2.2	21
	Female	1.1	16½		Male	1	17
	Female	2	20		Female	2	21½
	Female	6	26		Female	2	20½
	Female	8.3	29½	July 29, 1967	Male	9	31
	Male	8	28½		Female	1	16½
	Male	7	28		Female	4.8	25 5/8
	Female	9.1	28½		Female	3.1	21
	Male	2.1	20½		Female	2.5	20½
	Male	3.2	22½		Female	4.5	24 1/8
	Male	1	16		Female	1.5	18½
	Male	2	21½		Female	3.2	22½
	Male	1.2	18½		Female	14.2	34 5/8
	Male	5.2	25½		Male	5.3	25
	Female	4	23		Female	1	16½
	Male	1.2	17½		Female	5	24
	Male	1	17½		Male	3.5	23½
	Male	1	16		Female	4.5	23½
	Female	11.2	30½		Male	7.5	27½
	Female	7.3	27		Female	2.2	10½
July 28, 1967	Female	3	23½		Male	4.4	22½
	Male	2	19		Male	1	17 3/8
	Female	2.2	22½		Male	1.1	17½

Arctic Char Weights, Pond Inlet, September 1967. These were samples of fish taken on the upstream run, gutted and frozen.

Sex	Weight (lbs.)	Length (inches)	Sex	Weight (lbs.)	Length (inches)
Female	1½	15½	Female	3	20½
Male	1¾	18½	Female	2¼	19
Male	1½	21¼	Male	1¼	17
Female	2	19½	Female	3	20½
Male	2½	21¼	Male	9	31½
Female	1	16	Male	3	24¼
Female	2½	21	Female	2	20½
Male	1	18	Male	8½	28½
Female	1½	16	Male	11½	31½
Male	5½	28	Male	¾	17½

APPENDIX IV

Story of a Pond Inlet Hunter and Trapper as told to the author

The following is the life history of a 52-year old informant in the Pond Inlet area. In many ways it is typical of the life patterns of Pond Inlet Eskimos in the sense that the informant lived in a number of different locations within the Pond Inlet area as well as travelling beyond it. Considerable importance is placed on family matters. A number of other men of his age group have travelled extensively beyond the region.

"When I was eleven years old, my family went to Clyde River in 1926. We spent three months in Clyde River, then we got on a ship and went farther south of Clyde River. We stayed there until 1927."

"Next summer, we got on the R.C.M.P. ship and we were taken back to Pond Inlet. Next summer in 1928, we got on another ship and went to Repulse Bay. We stayed there next winter; we started again next summer, and went farther south. Not being able to go on because of the ice, we spend a winter in Spence Bay in 1929."

"We got back to Pond Inlet in 1930. At the age of eighteen, in 1933, I got married to a girl from Igloolik. My father quit working for the Hudson's Bay Company, and went to Arctic Bay. We stayed in Arctic Bay for two years. While we are in Arctic Bay, my wife and I had our first child in 1935. The child died the next day. Still at Arctic Bay, we got another child in 1936 (Appak). We got back to Pond Inlet in 1936. We went out to the camp to my wife's parents. That summer, I went caribou hunting. Kownuk was born in 1937 and was adopted. In December, 1938, I went back to my parents and spent a summer with my parents. Next winter, I went to Aulatsivik camp to trap foxes."

"In 1941, my father went with Hudson's Bay Company. That summer I hunted caribou for two months and spent a winter around Curry Island. During the summer of 1942, I hunted caribou most of the time, for the months of August and September. Next winter in 1942, I went to Clyde River with the Hudson's Bay Company by dogteam."

"Simeonee E5-756 was born in 1943. That year I went to Clyde River again. In 1944, Danikee E5-757 was born in October. That year we stayed in a camp. In 1945, I stayed in Qimmivik camp. My sister died at the Arctic Bay in 1946."

"Peter Kangooaluk was born in 1946 at Qimmivik camp. I went with the R.C.M.P. to Igloolik in that year."

"Isaccee E5-978 was born in 1949. In 1950, we stayed in Qimmivik camp."

"Rebecca was born in 1951. In 1952, we stayed in Low Point. That year my father went south to hospital in Montreal. My father died in

APPENDIX IV - (continued)

1953 and also my brother Kudloo died. I went back to Qimmivik in 1954. That spring, I worked at the coal mine at the Salmon River. My sister Tanquluk died the same year. In 1955, I fished in summer. The next winter my mother died. In that same year our big boat was wrecked."

"Joanassi was born in 1956. He was the last child we had. In 1957, we stayed in Qimmivik camp. That winter I was sick in the month of February and I got well again in March."

"In 1958, we stayed in Ekaluit camp and fished all summer. That summer the R.C.M.P. came to get me to Pond Inlet to have a medical examination at the "C.D.Howe". My son Simeonee E5-756 went south to hospital to Montreal. I spent two weeks at Pond Inlet, then I went back to Ekaluit and found that all the fish we caught had been eaten by the dogs. We spend another winter fishing."

"We moved to another camp in 1960, Angmat. Next summer I went back to Pond Inlet for medical at "C.D.Howe". When we got back to the camp, I found that some of my dogs were gone. We spend another winter at the camp."

"We went back to Qimmivik camp in 1961. That same year Daneekee went south. For five years we stayed at Qimmivik camp. In 1966, we went to Pond Inlet and started working with the construction people building houses. I worked all fall in Pond Inlet."

Ekaluit and Irkaluit are synonymous.

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